

THE GLOBE THEATRE 1599-1608

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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THE PLAYS - SELECTION AND USE

This study is based on plays known to have been produced under the auspices of the Chamberlain's Men (after 19 May, 1603, the King's Men) while they were giving their public London performances exclusively at the first Globe theatre. It is limited, therefore, to the period 1599-1608.

There can be little question as to the choice of the date 1599, since the first Globe was built in that year, but some explanation of the more arbitrary choice of 1608 may be necessary. It is based on the fact that in that year the ~~Chamberlain's~~^{King's} men acquired a private theatre, Blackfriars, and any play produced after that date may have been written for their new house which is known to have differed in many respects from the first Globe. Although it is probable that the repertories of the two theatres were not different, and some plays, for example The Duchess of Malfi, are known to have been performed at both, it seems better for the purposes of this study to limit the plays used as source material to those written and performed while the first Globe was the only London theatre of the company.

It is difficult to be exact with a subject as tenuous as the theatre, and, when all the complications which separate us from any kind of reconstruction of a performance in the first Globe are faced, one can only choose the "most likely" material. This material was originally divided into three categories in an attempt to recognise all possible variations in the value of the different plays as evidence. Subsequent reference to the grouped materials showed no

contradictions in the structural features required by plays in different categories.¹ The original distinctions are described in the following section and kept in the chronological list of plays which follows; they are retained when citing plays as evidence, but no attempt is made to arrange the evidence arbitrarily by category.

The first category consists of those plays written, produced, and printed within the dates 1599-1608. The nearer the publication date of the play is to the probable date of first production the more likely it is that the copy prepared for reading was based on the production. Later editors have a way of interpolating their own ideas of how a scene was staged and inserting their own stage directions, thereby ruining the value of the play for a study of this kind; for even a suggested bit of staging makes it difficult for the reader to visualize the play from a completely unbiased, uncoloured viewpoint. The lapse of time between the first production of a play and its publication is not important of itself, but what the playwright, actors, or editors may have done to the play during that time is. Therefore the plays of greatest value for this study are those which, because of the slightest time lapse, allow the least chance of such interpolation. They are given an "A" rating in the list of plays which follows, and on which this study is based. All the plays in any category are listed chronologically, as nearly as possible. Thus Henry V is A 1 and Every Man Out of his Humor is A 2, because, although both were acted in 1599 and printed in 1600, Henry V was entered in

¹ G. F. Reynolds in The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theatre used a similar classification and reached a similar conclusion about its value. pp 187-8.

the Stationers' Register a few days earlier. This is admittedly somewhat arbitrary, but the evidence of first production dates is seldom adequate to eliminate the possibility of error.

In the second category--the "B" plays--are those plays written, produced, and first printed before the Globe was built, but belonging to the Chamberlain's company and carried into the reerertory of its new playhouse, acted there, and then reprinted before 1608-9, and sometimes bearing the words "as...acted by the Kings Maiesties Seruants at the Globe."

The third category, or "C" plays, are those which have a time lapse between production and printing of up to twenty four years, and are, therefore, of somewhat doubtful value. This weakness in their value as evidence is mitigated, as will be pointed out later, by the fact that they were all by Shakespeare and were printed with commemorative intent "according to the true original copies."

In the listing of the plays which follows, the date determined by Sir Edmund Chambers as the probable date of first production is below the title of each play. Dates of publication are on the right. The abbreviation "S. R." before a date indicates that it is the date of entry in the Stationers' Register. Here is a sample listing:

1. The first play, chronologically.

B 1	<u>Richard III</u> (Title of Play)	Shakespeare (Author)
	1592-3 (Chambers' "first production date" limits. A date written "-1593" indicates a terminal date not later than 1593.)	<u>1597</u> Q ₁ <u>1598</u> Q ₂ <u>1602</u> Q ₃ "newly augmented" <u>1605</u> Q ₄ 1612 and 1622 Qq <u>1623</u> F (Publication date and quarto or folio form. Underlining means that editions have been studied.)

S. R. 20 October 1597 (First entry in the Stationers Register)

At the end of each listing are comments on the relative value of the play and its various editions for this study. Indications of auspices and place of performance which appear on the title pages of various editions are noted. For example, in the case of the first play, Richard III:

"As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." 1597

"As it hath beene Acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants." 1612

There was no augmentation in 1602. Chambers, III, 481

To continue:

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF PLAYS USED AS SOURCES

1.

B 1 Richard III Shakespeare
see sample listing above.

2.

B 2 Titus Andronicus Shakespeare
1594 1594 Q,
 1600 Q₂
S. R. 6 February 1594 1611 Q₃
 1623 F

"As it was Flaide by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembroke and Earle of Sussex their Seruants." 1594

"As it hath sundry times beene playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants." 1600

Quotations from this play are based on the Bodleian copy of the edition of 1611--Malone 37--which Malone collated with the Duke of Bridgewater's copy of the edition of 1600.

3.

B 3

Romeo and Juliet

Shakespeare

1594

1597 Q,
1599 Q,
1609 Q,
1623 F

S. R. No original entry

"As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicly,
by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his seruants." 1597

"...Newly corrected, augmented, and amended;...." 1599

"...by the King's Maiesties Seruants at the Globe...." 1609

The first Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain through whose patronage the company first derived its name, died 22 July, 1596. The players were retained by his son, George Carey, the second Lord Hunsdon, and were known as the Lord Hunsdon's Men from 22 July, 1596, to 17 March, 1597. At that time, Lord Cobham, who had succeeded Henry Carey as Lord Chamberlain, died; the post was given to the company's patron, and they were again the Lord Chamberlain's Men. The first quarto of Romeo and Juliet was printed during this period, July 1596 and March 1597. It was the first printing of a Shakesperian play written for the company for whom all the author's major work was done.

The 1597 quarto of Romeo and Juliet is one of the "bad quartos" put together from fragments of the play, remembered, or taken in rough notes, and augmented with recollected descriptions of what had been seen on the stage. These are often more illuminating than a perfect text for a study of this kind.

The quarto of 1609 is one of six quarto editions of plays which specifically mention, not only the acting company, but a text performed at the first Globe theatre. The others are Richard II (1608), The Yorkshire Tragedy (1608), The Merry Devil of Edmonton (1608), Troilus and Cressida (1609), and Pericles (1609). It is interesting that specific mention of the theatre did not occur until these two years, either as the place of performance or, as in the case of King Lear (1608) or Mucedorus (1611), as the usual playing place of the company.

4.

B 4

A Midsummer Night's Dream

Shakespeare

1595

1600 Q,
(1619) Q₂--false date 1600
1623 F

S. R. 8 October 1600

"As it hath beene sundry times publikely acted, by the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." 1600

5.

B 5

Richard II

Shakespeare

1595-6

S. R. 29 August 1597

1597 Q₁
1598 Q₂ & Q₃
1608 Q₄
1615 Q₅
1623 F

"As it hath beene publikely acted by the right Honourable
the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants." 1597

"...With new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the
deposing of King Richard. As it hath been lately acted
by the Kinges Maiesties seruantes, at the Globe." 1608

There were two issues of the play in 1608, of which only
one has the title page notation above. Both issues have
the added text.

The 1598 editions are the first of Shakespeare's plays to
have his name on the title page. This applies to this
play, to the 1598 editions of Richard III, and to Love's
Labour 's Lost.

6.

B 6

The Merchant of Venice

Shakespeare

1596 ?

S. R. 22 July 1598 stayed
28 October 1600

1600 Q₁
(1619) Q₂-false date 1600
1623 F

"As it hath been diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine
his Seruants." 1600

7.

B 7

I Henry IV

Shakespeare

1596-7

S. R. 25 February 1598

1598 Q₁
1599 Q₂
1604 Q₃
1608 Q₄
1613 and 1622 Qq
1623 F

None of the quartos of I Henry IV has any reference to the
company which played it nor the theatre in which it was
acted.

8.

B 8 II Henry IV Shakespeare

1597-8 ?

1600 Q
1623 F

S. R. 23 August 1600

"As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the
right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants."
1600

9.

B 9 Every Man in his Humor Ben Jonson

1598

1601 Q
1616 F

S. R. 4 August 1600 stayed
14 August 1600

"As it hath beene sundry times publikely acted by the
right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants."
1601

"Acted in the yeere 1598. By the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants."
1616

20 September 1598 Toby Mathew wrote to Dudley Carleton of
an Almain who lost 300 crowns "at a new play called Every
Mans Humor" (Calender of State Papers Domestic. Series
Elizabeth cclxviii, 61; Simpson ix. ed R. Lemon.) quoted
Chambers III, 359.

10.

B 10 Much Ado About Nothing Shakespeare

1598 ?

1600 Q
1623 F

S. R. 4 August 1600 stayed
23 August 1600

"As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right
honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." 1600

11

A 1 Henry V Shakespeare

1599

1600 Q,
1602 Q,
(1619) Q₃ - "Printed for
T.P. 1608"
false date.
1623 F

S. R. No original entry
Stayed 4 August 1600

"As it hath bene sundry times playd by the Right honourable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants." 1600

All quartos of this play represent the same shortened version--without prologue, interact choruses, and some scenes such as II, i, the famous "Once more unto the Breach" speech--of the full Folio text which scholars now believe existed in 1600.

Scholars disagree as to whether or not this was first performed at the Globe. The evidence is inconclusive either way. Its choice as the first "A" play is admittedly arbitrary.

12.

C 1	<u>Julius Caesar</u>	Shakespeare
	1599	<u>1623 F</u>

13.

A 2	<u>Every Man Out of his Humor</u>	Ben Jonson
	1599	<u>1600 Q₁</u>
		<u>1600 Q₂</u>
	S. R. 8 April 1600	<u>1600 Q₃</u>
		<u>1616 F</u>

"As it was first composed by the Author B. I. Containing more than hath been Publikely Spoken or Acted." Q 1600

Q₃ is a careless reprint of Q₁. Chambers, III, 361, quoting W. W. Greg.

"Acted in the yeere 1599. By the then Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants." 1616

In the Epilogue of Q₁, Macilente speaks to "The happier spirits of this faire-fild Globe," and asks for applause. After a "Finis" which follows the Epilogue, this quarto adds an earlier, unpopular, conclusion. Chambers points out that this was also a theatre and not a Court epilogue. Chambers, III, 361-2.

All augmented editions are suspect as evidence for a study of this kind, but Chambers thinks that the play was performed at the Globe and in 1599, so it is given an "A" rating.

14.

B 11	<u>A Warning for Fair Women</u>	Anonymous
	-1599	<u>1599 Q</u>

S. R. 17 November 1599

15.

A 3

S. R. 27 May 1600

16.

A 4

17.

C 2

9

18.

A 5 Satiromastix Thomas Dekker

1601 1602 Q

S. R. 11 November 1601

"As it hath bin presented publikely, by the Right Honorable,
the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants; and priuately, by the
Children of Paules."

19.

A 6 Hamlet Shakespeare

1601 ? 1603 Q₁
 1604 Q₂
 1611 Q₃
 1623 F

S. R. 26 July 1602

"As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his highnesse ser-
uants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuer-
sities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where." 1603

"...Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe
as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie...." 1604

The 1603 quarto of Hamlet is a "bad quarto"--what the edi-
tors of the Folio of 1623 describe as a "stolne, and sur-
reptitious" copy--like the 1597 quarto of Romeo and Juliet.

20.

C 3 Twelfth Night Shakespeare

1601-2 1623 F

21.

A 7 Thomas Lord Cromwell Anonymous

-1602 1602 Q₁
 1613 Q₂

S. R. 11 August 1602

"The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of
Thomas Lord Cromwell Written by W. S." 1602

"As it hath beene sundrie times publikely Acted by the
Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants." 1602

"As it hath been sundry times publikely Acted by the Kings
Maiesties Seruants." 1613

22.

A 8 Troilus and Cressida Shakespeare

1602 ?

1609 Q
1623 F

S. R. 7 February 1603 stayed
 28 January 1609

"As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties seruants at the
Globe." 1609

One of the plays which has in its printed copy a specific
reference to the text as that played at the first Globe,
during the period selected for this study.

23.

C 4 All 's Well That Ends Well Shakespeare

1602 ?

1623 F

24.

A 9 The Merry Devil of Edmonton Anonymous

c 1603

1608 Q,
1612; 1617; 1626;
1631; 1655 Qq

S. R. 22 October 1607

"As it hath beene sundry times Acted, by his Maiesties
Seruants, at the Globe, on the banke-side." 1608

This quarto and that of Pericles 1609 contain the most
specific references to production at the first Globe.

The play existed in 1604 when it was mentioned in T. M.'s
Black Book. Some scholars place it earlier.

The final act shows evidence of a corrupt text.

25.

A 10 Sejanus Ben Jonson

1603

1605 Q
1616 F

S. R. 2 November 1604

"Acted, in the yeere 1603. By the K. Maiesties Servants." 1616

"I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is
not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage,
wherein a second pen had good share; in place of which I
have rather chosen to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing)
of mine own, then to defraud so happy a Genius of his right
by my lothed usurpation." 1605

Chambers says (III, 367)

"as the theatres were probably closed from Elizabeth's death to March 1604, the production may have been at court in the autumn or winter of 1603."

It seems more likely that production was at the Globe in the early spring of 1603, before the theatres closed.

Jonson's dedicatory spistle to Esme Lord Aubigny, in the folio of 1616, says that the play

"suffered no less violence from our people here, then the subject of it did from the rage of the people of Rome."

This suggests public performance, and the commendatory verse of Ev. B. in the quarto of 1605 obviously refers to the fact that the play was not popular at the Globe.

"Whē in the Globes faire Ring, our Worlds best stage,
I saw seianus, set in that rich foyle,
I look't the Author should haue borne the spoile
Of conquest, from the Writers of the Age:
But when I view'd the Peoples beastly rage,
Bent to confound thy graue, and learned toile,
That cost thee so much sweat, and so much oyle,
My indignation I could hardly assuage."

26.

A 11

The Malcontent

John Marston

1604

1604 Q₁
1604 Q₂

S. R. 5 July 1604

There were two editions of Q₁. Q₂ bears the inscription

"Augmented by Marston. With the Additions played by
the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by John Webster."

The induction of the augmented edition—in which members of the King's company appear in their own person and talk to another actor representing a gallant sitting on the stage—explains the new version of the play. It had obviously been written for the Children of the Revels, and changed to suit the requirements of a public theatre.

"Sly.I would know how you came by this play?

Condell. Faith, sir, the book was lost; and because
t'was pity so good a play should be lost, we
found it and play it .

Sly. I wonder you would play it, another company
having interest in it.

Condell. Why not Malvole in folio with us, as Jeronimo
in decimo-sexto with them? They taught us a
name for our play; we call it 'One for Another'.

Sly. What are your additions?

Burbage. Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your salad
to your great feast, to entertain a little more
time, and to abridge the not-received custom of
music in our theatre."

27.

A 12 I Jeronimo

Anonymous

c 1604

1605 Q

This was the play pirated by the Children of the Revels, in return for which the Kings Men played their augmented version of The Malcontent.

28.

C 5 Measure for Measure

Shakespeare

1604 ?

1623 F

29.

C 6 Othello

Shakespeare

1604 ?

1622 Q,
1623 F

S. R. 6 October 1621

"As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the Globe, and the Black Friers, by his Maiesties Seruants." 1622

The reference on the title page of the 1622 quarto may be to the second Globe; but the play was acted in Whitehall in 1604, and was certainly in the public repertory about that time. The court performance is listed in the Revels Accounts:

"By the
Kings
ma^{tes}
plaiers.

Hallamas Day being
the first of Nouem
bar A play in the
Banketinge house
att Whithall called
The Moor of Venis."

There is also definite reference to a Globe performance, 30 April, 1611, in the narrative of the tour of Lewis Frederick, Duke of Wurttemberg, cited by Chambers, II, 215.

30.

A 13 The London Prodigal

Anonymous

1603-5

1605 Q

S. R. No original entry

Shakespeare Folios
3 and 4

"As it was plaide by the Kings Maiesties seruants. By William Shakespeare." 1605

31.

A 14 The Fair Maid of Bristow

Anonymous

-1604

1605 Q

S. R. 8 February 1605 -

"As it was plaide at Hampton, before the King and Queenes most excellent Maiesties."

S. R. "A commedy called 'the fayre Mayd of Bristoe' played at Hampton Court by his Maiesties players."

The Court performance was probably during the Christmas season of 1603-4 when the court was at Hampton. (Chambers IV, 12.)

There is no evidence that this play ever had a public performance at the Globe or elsewhere.

It is included here because there is nothing to differentiate it from usual public theatre fare, and it does not seem economically sound for a play to have been prepared for a single performance when there was no reason for not acting it on other occasions.

Chambers statement about Every Man Out of his Humor (III, 360) may be applicable here:

"It seems to me a little difficult to believe that the play was given at Court before it had been practiced in public performance...."

32.

A 15 King Lear

Shakespeare

1605-6

1608 Q, "Pide Bull" Q
1619 Q, false date 1608
1623 F

S. R. 26 November 1607

"As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall vpon S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes. By his Maiesties seruants playing vsually at the Gloabe on the Bancke-side."
1608

33.

C 7 Macbeth

Shakespeare

1605-6

1623 F

A Globe performance on 20 April 1611 is recorded by the Duke of Wurttemberg. (See Othello--29, C 6. p 13)

34.

A 16 Volpone or The Fox

Ben Jonson

1606

1607 Q
1616 F

S. R. No original entry

"Acted in the year 1605. By the K. Maiesties Servants."
1616

35.

A 17 The Revenger's Tragedy

Anonymous - Tourneur ?

1606- -1607

1607 Q

S. R. 7 October 1607

"As it hath beene sundry times Acted, by the Kings Maiesties
Seruants."

36.

A 18 A Yorkshire Tragedy

Anonymous

c 1606

S. R. 2 May 1608

1608 Q

"Acted by his Maiesties Players at the Globe. Written by W.
Shakespeare."

37.

A 19 The Miserie of Enforced Marriage

George Wilkins

1607

1607 Q,
1609 Q

S. R. 31 July 1607

1629 and 1637 Qq

"As it is now playd by his Maiesties Seruants." 1607

This is the only edition to specify that it represents a
text being acted at the time of printing.

38.

A 20 The Devil's Charter

Barnabe Barnes

2 February 1607

1607 Q

S. R. 16 October 1607

"As it was plaide before the Kings Maiestie, vpon Candlemasse
night last: by his Maiesties Seruants. But more exactly"

renewed, corrected and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure and profit of the Reader."

The undefined augmentation of this play makes its unusually elaborate stage directions somewhat suspect; but the most plausible interpretation seems to be that they are an attempt on the part of the author to make perfectly valid stage action vivid to the reader.

39.

C 8	<u>Coriolanus</u>	Shakespeare
	1606 ?	<u>1623</u> F

40.

C 9	<u>Anthony and Cleopatra</u>	Shakespeare
	1606 ?	<u>1623</u> F

41.

C 10	<u>Timon of Athens</u>	Shakespeare
	1607 ?	<u>1623</u> F

42.

A 21	<u>Pericles</u>	Shakespeare
	1608 ?	1609 Q ₁
	S. R. 20 May 1608	1609 Q ₂
		1611 Q ₃
		1619 Q ₄
		1630 and 1635 Qq
		1664 F

"As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on the Banck-side." 1609

The folio text is distinct from the Qq which, like those of Henry V, are shortened.

Chambers says (II, 214) that the London theatres closed because of plague in July 1608 and did not reopen until December 1609. Public performance must therefore have been in the spring of the year or after 19 November 1607 when plague deaths dropped, if, as noted on the title page, they were at the Globe."

⁴ See Appendix

43.

B 12	<u>Mucedorus</u>	Anonymous
	-1598: 1611	1598 Q. 1606 Q. 1611 Q.
	S. R. No original entry	1613; 1615; 1618; 1619; 1621; 1626; 1634; 1639; 1663; 1668. Qq

"Newly set foorth, as it hath bin sundrie times plaide in
the honorable Cittie of London." 1598

"Amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the
Kings Maiestie at White-hall on Shroue-sunday night. By
his Highness Seruants vsually playing at the Globe." 1611

Collier professed to know an edition of 1609 with the
altered title page of 1611. It is otherwise unknown, like
many Collier references. The play may have belonged orig-
inally to a company extinct at the time the King's Men re-
vived it, but the date of first revival is unknown, and
it may always have been the property of the Chamberlain's--
King's Men. It is difficult to determine the precise date
of the additions in the quarto of 1610-1, according to
Chambers, IV, 35.

The plays are listed alphabetically at the end of this section.

As can be seen from this list, the extant repertory of the first
Globe during the period 1599-1608 consists of forty-three plays.
Twenty of these are firmly in the "A" category, and form the basis
of this study. The thirteen in the "B" class corroborate the evidence
of the "A" group. This corroboration weakens the presumption that a
selective use of the evidence in the Globe repertory will help to dis-
tinguish differences between the Globe and earlier theatres. Perhaps
the Globe stage was, after all traditional rather than consciously de-
signed; and what made it famous was genius in using it rather than
genius in changing or adapting it. Perhaps, too the company had to
be absent from London too frequently because of plagues and inhibitions
to allow playwrights to make use of stage facilities so inflexibly that

they acted as limitations when the plays were performed on tour.¹ In any case the "B" plays show few changes in stage requirements between "pre-Globe" and "Globe" editions.

The ten plays in the "C" group are all by William Shakespeare, and because of the circumstances of publication are probably worth an "A" classification. They were all written and performed during the time the first Globe was the only London playhouse of the Chamberlain's-King's Men. It is not impossible that some of them were published during the period, although no copy or record of such publication exists today. When they were published it was in part, at least, as a tribute to Shakespeare. The idea of such a commemorative volume had quite possibly brought about the republication of so many of his plays in 1619.

It seems reasonable to suppose that, in honoring Shakespeare by the edition of the Folio of 1623, Heminge and Condell sincerely tried to publish the plays "according to the true original copies." This

¹The records are not detailed or accurate enough to allow an exact reconstruction of the movements of the company during the years considered in this study, but it is known that the public theatres of London were closed after March 19, for most of 1603, largely because of the plague. (Theatre closings in this period are discussed in Appendix A.) The King's Men returned to play at court during the winter season and received a retaining fee because public playing was still prohibited in the first months of 1604. They toured in May and June, as evidenced by scattered references, and returned in August as Grooms of the Chamber to the Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary. Playing at the Globe was resumed in 1604, but in 1605 the company is known to have visited Barnstable and Oxford (October ?) and may have travelled even more because of the restraint of 5 October-15 December. In 1606 they seem to have toured in July, August, and September, and, although they were in London to perform for the King of Denmark who was visiting James from 7 July until 11 August, the public theatres were probably closed from 10 July on by the plague. They travelled again in much of 1607, since the theatres must have been closed most of the time between April and December. This was also true from July 1608 until December 1609.

would mean that they were concerned with perpetuating Shakespeare's major literary work and not any minor alterations which may have crept in through the exigencies always attendant upon dramatic production. Among the many changes that affected the King's Men in 1608-9 was probably the beginning of Shakespeare's detachment from London and the theatre. It is likely that he did not make major changes in his old plays after this time, and "true original copies" would belong to the period of this study, during which the plays were written. The time lapse does exist, however, and it seems necessary to recognize it by a separate classification of plays.

In citing a play in the sections which follow, its number and category listing will immediately follow the title--i.e. (38, A 20). After this, the exact source of any quotation will be given--i. e. (Q 1607 - F_{2v}), the quarto and signature, or (F 1623 - C 36) the folio and page, preceded by "C" for comedy, "H" for history, or "T" for tragedy. This applies, of course, to the Shakespeare Folio of 1623. Since the pagination of the tragedies goes awry, it will sometimes be necessary to use signatures instead of pages. In the case of Jonson's two volume 1616 Folio, all references are from volume one, so no volume is indicated, and the signatures are followed by page numbers which run consecutively and need no modification. Since the signatures run from "A" to "Qqqq₄" it may be worth mentioning that "Rr" does not indicate "R₁ recto", but is the signature "Rr recto" at that point in the folio.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF PLAYS

15	A 3	ALARUM FOR LONDON, AN	24	A 9	MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON, THE
23	C 4	ALL 'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL	16	A 4	MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, THE
40	C 9	ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA	4	B 4	MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, A
17	C 2	AS YOU LIKE IT	37	A 19	MISERIES OF ENFORCED MARRIAGE, THE
39	C 8	CORIOLANUS	10	B 10	MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING
38	A 20	DEVIL'S CHARTER, THE	43	B 12	MUCEDORUS
9	B 9	EVERY MAN IN HIS HUMOR	29	C 6	OTHELLO
13	A 2	EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOR	42	A 21	PERICLES
31	A 14	FAIR MAID OF BRISTOW, THE	35	A 17	REVENGER'S TRAGEDY
19	A 6	HAMLET	5	B 5	RICHARD II
7	B 7	I HENRY IV	1	B 1	RICHARD III
8	B 8	II HENRY IV	3	B 3	ROMEO AND JULIET
11	A 1	HENRY V	18	A 5	SATIROMASTIX
27	A 12	I JERONIMO	25	A 10	SEJANUS
12	C 1	JULIUS CAESAR	21	A 7	THOMAS LORD CROMWELL
32	A 15	KING LEAR	41	C 10	TIMON OF ATHENS
30	A 13	LONDON PRODIGAL, THE	2	B 2	TITUS ANDRONICUS
33	C 7	MACBETH	22	A 8	TROILUS AND CRESSIDA
26	A 11	MALCONTENT, THE	20	C 3	TWELFTH NIGHT
28	C 5	MEASURE FOR MEASURE	34	A 16	VOLPONE
6	B 6	MERCHANT OF VENICE, THE	14	B 11	WARNING FOR FAIR WOMEN, A
		36	A 18	YORKSHIRE TRAGEDY, A	

THE USE OF THE MATERIALS

Having established the limits of this study in so far as the plays are concerned, one immediately faces the limitations of the plays themselves and the contributions they can make toward an understanding of the physical conditions in which they were staged.

There are three types of "direction" in any play which will enable a reader to visualize what is happening on the stage, or help a producer to stage the play. The first of these is the author's own directions to the actor. The second is the directions which one character may give another in the dialogue of the play. The third is more subjective, and depends entirely on the reader's, actor's or producer's interpretation of what he thinks the playwright meant to have happening in a particular scene.

As I suggested earlier, there is, also, in editions of Elizabethan plays, evidence of a hand other than the author's visible in the directions which survive. This "middleman" may have been the prompter, as evidenced by directions which substitute the name of an actor for that of a character. (It is not impossible that an author writing hastily for a familiar company might also have done this.) In other cases, the middleman may have been a person, perhaps an actor, trying to recall a play from memory, and substituting the description of remembered "business" for forgotten lines. He is someone, at all events, who records an action he has seen performed, rather than one he wishes to have performed as part of a total effect he is creating.

It must be noted here that the author himself was often responsible for changes in the printed text. Ben Jonson almost always "augmented" and "corrected" his plays for publication; and Barnabe Barnes, in the foreword to The Devil's Charter (38, A 20), says the text is:

"...more exactly renewed, corrected, and augmented since by the Author, for the more pleasure and profit of the Reader."

Does that admission on his part make this play, which is rich in stage directions, less valuable for a study of this kind than it would have been otherwise, or more so? Was Barnes picturing for the reader things he would have liked to have done on the stage, or adding to his original text the business invented by the technical brilliance of the personnel of the professional theatre?

There is no evidence that he was closely associated with any theatre and either augmentation is possible; but from the standpoint of pleasing readers, many of whom might have seen the play, the latter seems more probable. Because of the many references on the title pages of the plays to the texts as those played in the theatres, we may assume that the average reader had some familiarity with the playhouses, and the companies which occupied them.

Chambers speaks (III, 112) of The Devil's Charter as a "singular play, with full naive stage directions:" but if Barnes was attempting to picture to the reader the stage movement he had witnessed, and overcompensated for what he thought the reader was losing, it is at least not the naivete of writing over-elaborate stage directions for actors to follow.

One expression of the publisher's attitude toward augmented or altered play texts comes down to us in the 1600 edition of Jonson's Every Man Out Of His Humor:

"It was not neere his thoughts that hath published this, either to traduce the Authour; or to make vulgar and cheape any peculiar and sufficient deserts of the Actors; but rather (where as many Censures fluttered about it) to giue all leave, and leisure, to iudge with distinction."

If only all publishers had felt called upon to give their readers the basis for judging the merits of playhouse and augmented literary texts we might be in a better position for reconstructing stage limitations and acting techniques.

At all events, the first two types of stage direction which have come down to us--those written by the author for the actor, and those written in the dialogue-- have been studied for the light they shed on the third--the subjective interpretation--and the help they give in an evaluation of the augmentations. I mean that I have tried not to make a subjective plotting or interpretation of action that would not follow from what the playwright gives in the first two types of direct and indirect stage direction; nor have I based a conclusion on an augmented play whose elaborate staging is not born out by other more primary evidence of what was feasible.

One cannot imagine what the playwright meant to have happening without knowing where it was happening. Unlike other forms of literature, drama is physically bound and limited by the theatre for which it is written. Modern playwrights make it easy for the reader to visualize the play by means of explicit

stage directions, and the convention of limiting stages by realistic sets. Sometimes the stage directions are meager, but they are never as meager as those of the Elizabethans. Because the early directions are so meager, the search for what the characters themselves say about the action of the play has been exhaustive. I do not feel that mine has been any more detailed than that of the host of scholars who have preceded me in the task.. We shall never know exactly what the Elizabethan theatre was like unless some new and more definitive evidence is found, but each study of a particular theatre sorts the material and may help us to know more about that theatre and if and how it differed from the others. In confining my work to the first Globe, I hope to avoid making more conjectures about "an Elizabethan theatre" and to be able to say a few positive things about the first Globe which will help readers to visualize where the action of its plays took place. I shall not ask that they accept my subjective interpretations, but simply that they shall be able to say that, from the existing evidence, such an interpretation is not invalid.

Perhaps I have not given my imagination enough freedom to play around and to build, upon the faintest clue, an elaborate structure. Perhaps I have taken the directions in the plays too literally, but my search of the first Globe plays has led me to conclude that the actual requirements of the actors were indeed few. I think that the plays produced there could all have been produced on a stage little more elaborate than that which Mr. Hodges pictures in the third issue of Shakespeare Survey (1950) as a "basic platform stage" and of which he says: (pp. 85-6)

"Basically it consists of no more than a platform supported on posts or trestles, behind which is some sort of small house or tent from which the actors come out. Here we may recognise, if we will, an early form of the Elizabethan tiring house."

The structure he pictures has a space for disclosing scenes, and an entrance on either side of this space. If the covering could be used as an elevated space, the whole structure would serve quite adequately for staging all the extant plays of the first Globe repertory. The rest of this study will attempt to illustrate my reasons for concluding that nothing more was needed.

Drawing by C. Walter Hodges—Shakespeare Survey III (1950) P. 86.

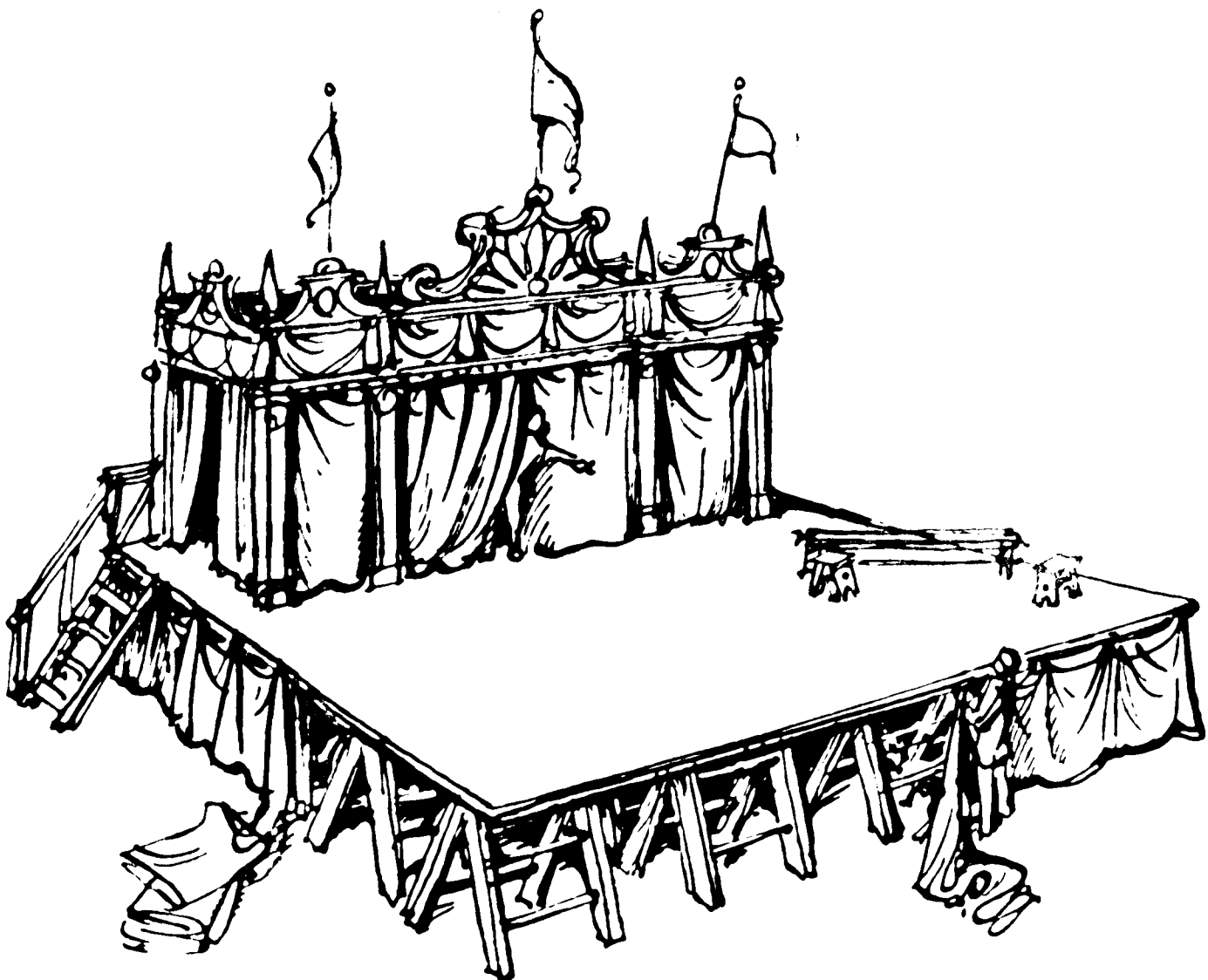
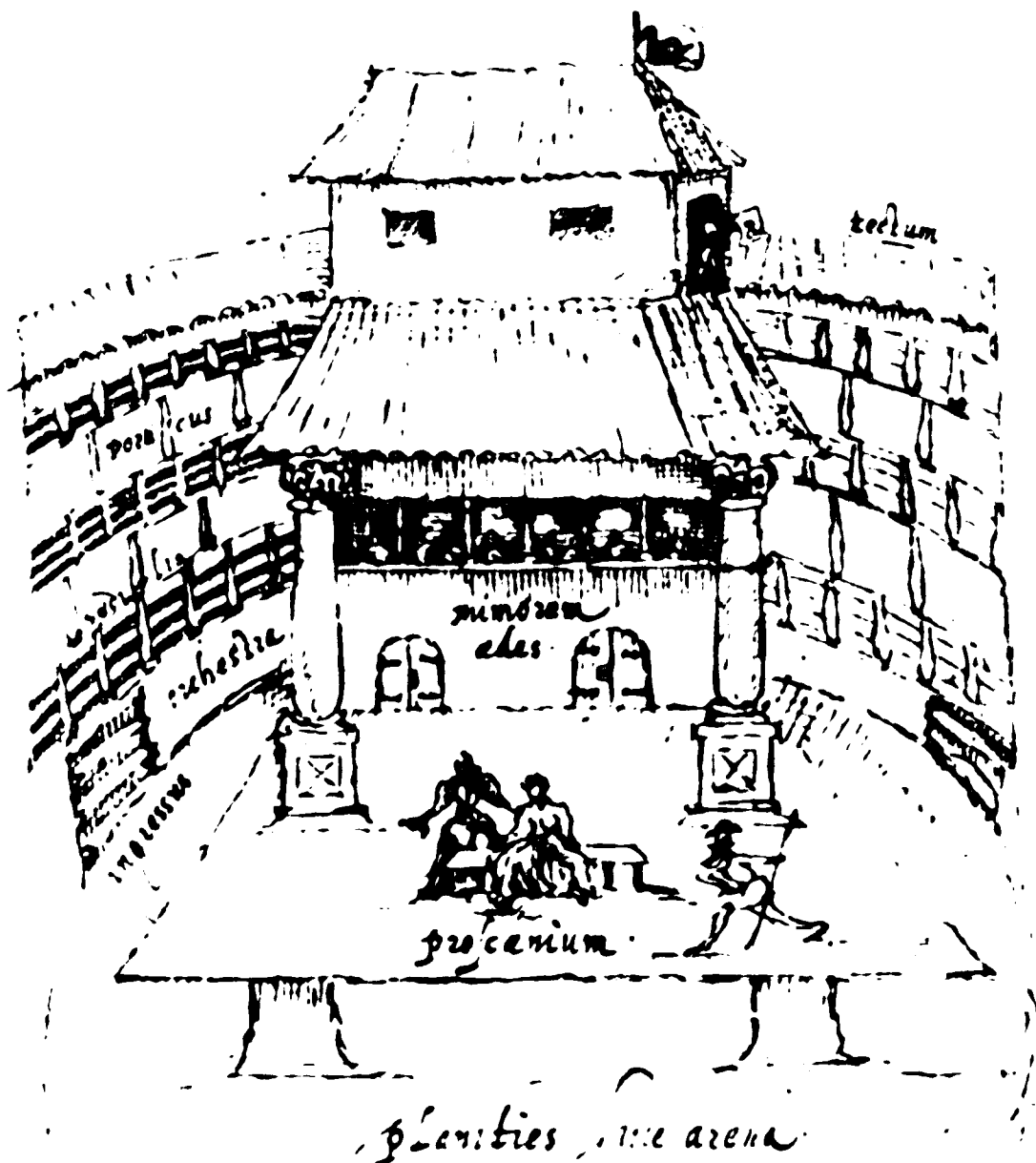


Fig. 2. Basic platform stage.

In fact, it is not impossible that even less was actually required, and that the much criticized drawing of the Swan Theatre represents the real basic minimum. Of this drawing Sir Edmund Chambers says: (II, 526)

"The Swan drawing is our one contemporary picture of the interior of a public playhouse, and it is a dangerous business to explain away its evidence by an assumption of inaccurate observation on the part of DeWitt, merely because that evidence conflicts with subjective interpretation of stage directions, arrived at in the course of the pursuit of a 'typical stage.' "



THE THEATRE AND STAGE

If the plan or "plott" which accompanied the Builder's Contract for the Fortune Theatre had not been lost, many questions about that theatre would be answered and other theatres of the period could be reconstructed approximately, on the assumption that they were not too different from it. This would be especially true of the first Globe, to which so many references are made in the contract.

As it is, without the plan, the contract lends itself to different interpretations and we have as many variations in the models built to the specifications of the contract as there are builders. Once the over-all dimensions, which are quite specific in the written contract, are re-constructed, each interpretation becomes largely subjective, especially as far as the "stadge and tyreinge howse" are concerned, for these were to be similar to those in the Globe, and as shown in the "plott."

One of the first questions to trouble the researcher investigating any of the Elizabethan theatres is the shape of the auditorium--the frame within which the "stadge and tyreinge howse" were set. The Fortune is known, from its contract, to have been rectangular. The shape of the first Globe remains more conjectural.

Since this study is limited to evidence in the plays themselves, it is not possible to become deeply involved in a discussion of the shape of the first Globe. References in the plays to the shape are few in number and general in nature. However, although they are certainly not conclusive evidence, it is interesting that of the four extant plays

to which Chambers assigns a first production date of 1599,¹ three make a point of mentioning the shape of the theatre, and the shape that they mention is round. It is interesting, too, that all these references appear in the prologues or inductions-- the parts of a play most easily adjusted to the pointing of some event or feature of topical interest.

The references are:

Henry V (11, A 1) (F 1623 -H69) (Prologue)

The prologue, although it did not appear in print until the folio may have been written for the new playhouse. It is now believed that the full folio text is the original, and the abbreviated quartos shortened acting versions of it.

" Can this Cock-pit hold
The vastie fields of France? Or may we cramme
Within this Wooden O, the very Caskes That
did affright the Ayre at Agincourt?
O pardon: since a crooked Figure may
Attest in little place a Million,
And let vs, Cyphers to this great Accompt,
On your imaginarie Forces worke.
Suppose within the Girdle of these Walls
Are now confin'd two mightie Monarchies,
Whose high, vp-reared, and abutting Fronts,
The perillous narrow Ocean parts asunder.
Peece out our imperfections with your thoughts:
Into a thousand parts diuide one Man,
And make imaginarie Paissance."

¹ "A fifth play, The Merry Devil of Edmonton, may have been produced as early as 1599. Chambers says (IV, 30) "around 1603," but Alfred Harbage in Annals of English Drama for the year 1602 lists the play as probably acted that year, but postulates as possible limits any date between 1599 and 1604. If we allow the earliest date, there are four plays possible produced in a new theatre and referring to the shape of that theatre as "round."

Every Man Out of his Humor (13,A 2)(Q 1600 -A₄)(Inductio)

After the second sounding, Asper the Presenter, Cordatas the Moderator, and Mitis enter and converse in an induction scene. In the course of their conversation:

"Asp.¹ I not obseru'd this thronged round till now:
Gracious, and kind Spectators, you are welcome,
Apollo, and the Muses feast your eies
With gracefull obiects; and may our Minerua
Answer your hopes vnto their largest straine."

"Round" here is clearly a noun meaning the space containing the spectators, and not an adverb describing a way of sitting, as it is at the end of the play where it has the obvious meaning of "a-round". (Q 1600-Q4v)

"Cor. Nay, we ha' done censuring, now.

Mit. Yes faith.

Mac(ilente). How so?

Cor. Mary because wee'le imitate your Actors, and be out of our Humors. Besides, here are those (round about you) of more abilitie in Censure than we, whose iudgements can giue it a more satisfying Allowance: wee'le referre you to them."

This quotation is from the

"Catastrophe of Conclusion at the first playing:
which many seem'd not to relish ir; and therefore 'twas since alter'd."

Chambers (III, 361-2) calls this a public theatre epilogue like that printed as the regular conclusion of the 1600 quarto.

¹The Folio of 1616 adds: "Here hee makes adrese to the People." The direction is superfluous. In this play the stage directions in Q 1600 are full and explicit, but F 1616 omits most of them. Henry de Vocht, who did research on the comparative value of the two texts for Bang's Materialen, says:

"To be true, some of those stage-directions are implied by the text, others may seem useless; still without any doubt, the author prescribed them at the time when he prepared his play for the production on the stage; and with very few exceptions, they are certainly helpful towards the understanding and the appreciation of the writer's meaning, the first requisite in the enjoyment of a work of art, which the Folio makes very hard indeed for the reader. Moreover there are several places, which through the omission of the stage-directions in the Folio, have become incomprehensible without the help of the quarto." An excellent discussion of the exact differences follows, IP.26-36.

The regular epilogue of Q 1600 makes it clear that the "round" of the induction was the Globe auditorium, because in it Macilente says:

"VVe pawne 'hem to your censure, till Time, VVit,
Or Obseruation, set some stronger seale
Of iudgement on the iudgements: and entreat
The happier spirits in this faire-fild Globe,
(So many as haue sweet minds in their breasts,
And are too wise to thinke themselves are taxt
In any generall Figure, or too vertuous
To need that wisdomes imputation:)
That with their bounteous Hands they would confirme
This, as their pleasures Pattent: which so sign'd,
Our leane and spent Endeauors shall renew
Their Beauties with the Spring to smile on you."

A Warning for Fair Women (14, B11)(Q 1599 - A3)

In the induction scene Historie, Comedie, and Tragedie are contending for control of the stage that day. Historie says:

"And Tragedie although today thou raigne
Tomorrow here Ile dominere againe."

She and Comedie exeunt, leaving Tragedie. The scene continues:

"Turning to the people

Tragedie: Are you both gone so soone? Why then I see
All this faire circuite here is left to me:
All you spectators, turne your chearfull eie
Give entertainment unto Tragedie,
My sceane is London, native and your owne,
I wish to thinke, My subject too well knowne,
I am not faind: many now in this round,
Once to behold me in sad teares were drownd,
Yet what I am, I will not let you know
Untill my next ensuing sceane shal show."

The Merry Devil of Edmonton (24, A 9)(Q 1608 - A3)(Prologue)

"Your silance and attention, worthy friends,
That your free spirits may with more pleasing sense
Relish the life of this our actiue sceane:
To which intent, to calme this murmuring breath,
We ring this round with our inuoking spellles;
If that your listening eares be yet prepar'd,
To entertayne the subject of our play,
Lend vs your patience."

It has been suggested that "this round" refers to the magic circles usually drawn for incantation, but since the purpose of ringing the round is to quiet the murmuring breath of the audience, it seems that the two must be connected.

Sejanus (25, A 10)(Q 1605 - Commendatory Verses -)

There is no reference in the play itself to the shape of the theatre, but in the commendatory verse of "Ev. B." already quoted in listing the play, is the line:

"Whẽ in the Globes faire Ring, our Worlds best Stage,"

It is not my purpose to discuss any point concerning the theatre on evidence other than that in the texts of the plays, but I would like to mention that the evidence cited above is confirmed by the research of I.A. Shapiro, and summed up in his admirable evaluation of the Bankside engravings.¹ Certainly he has done great service in substantiating the validity of the Hollar drawing.

The terms "theatre" and "stage" are sometimes used interchangeably in Elizabethan writings, as in the fifth edition of Stowe's Annales (1631) in which the editor, Edmund Howes, says:

"And this is the seauenteenth Stage, or common Play-house, which had beene made within the space of threescore yeares within London and the Subburbs,.... Before the space of three score yeares aboue-sayd, I neither knew, heard, nor read of any such Theatres, set Stages, or Play-houses, as haue beene purposely built with in mans memory."

This seemingly contradictory statement tends to confirm C.W. Hodges' contention (Shakespeare Survey III, pp. 83-94) that the word "stage" was more specific in Elizabethan times than in ours. The important fact is that the play-houses were purposely built to house set stages. These stages had a nature of their own to adhere to. They were the out growth of the street stage, which consisted not only of a raised platform but of a tiring house. It is interesting that the contracts for both the Fortune and the Hope call for a stage and tiring house to be set up within the auditorium -- in other words, the tiring house was an integral part of the stage unit and not of the auditorium.

¹ Shakespeare Survey I, pp.25-37; and Shakespeare Survey II, pp.21-23.

The evidence in the plays does not throw much light on the nature of the first Globe stage. It does bear out the contemporary references to the fact that the acting area was elevated.

Henry V (11, A 1)(F 1623 - H 69)(Prologue)

" But pardon, Gentles all:
The flat vnrayed Spirits, that hath dar'd,
On this vnworthy Scaffold, to bring forth
So great an Obiect."

Troilus and Cressida (22, A 8)(F 1623 - T unnumbered page⁴)
(I, iii)

"Vlyses....Sometimes, great Agamemnon,
Thy toplesse deputation he puts on;
And like a strutting Player, whose conceit
Lies in his Ham-string, and doth thinke it rich
To heare the wooden Dialogue and sound
'Twixt his stretcht footing, and the Scaffolage,
Such to be pitied, and ore-rested seeming
He acts thy Greatnesse in: and when he speakes
'Tis like a Chime a mending. with tearmes vnsquar'd
Which, from the tongue of roaring Typhon dropt,
Would seemes Hyperboles."

Anthony and Cleopatra (40, C 9)(F 1623 - T 359)(IV, iii)

"Musicke of Hoboyes is vnder the Stage."

Hamlet (19, A 6)(Q 1603 - D_v)(I, v)

"The Gost vnder the stage."

Q 1604 has "Ghost cries under the stage"

Hodges' idea of a stage about five and a half feet high is most interesting, and one which, while there is no specific evidence in the Globe plays, I am inclined to accept. The

⁴ Troilus and Cressida has been inserted in the folio after the Histories, which end with Henry VIII on page 235. Its first pages are numbered 78 and 79. The rest of the pages are unnumbered, and even the signatures are not consecutive and useable for quotation. The tragedies follow, starting, as the index shows, with Coriolanus on page 1. The quotation given above is on what would be page 81 verso and bears the signature g.

references and all stage action suggesting the use of traps supports the idea. Since excavation was hardly possible in the marshy Bankside area, the stage would have had to be high enough to allow the actors reasonable freedom of movement to and from traps for entrances or exits, and for the raising and lowering of property effects if that was necessary.

There is no direct reference to a trap door in any of the ~~first~~ Globe plays. A technical reference to a part of the stage is, of course, less likely in a printed edition than in a playhouse manuscript.¹ Such manuscripts from the Globe repertory are lacking, and we are left with only those actions in the plays which seem to suggest an opening in the floor of the stage. These are most often in Dumb Shows, which certainly tried to make up for their lack of text with elaborate contrivance and noise.

A Warning for Fair Women (14, B11)(Q 1599 - C_{3v})(III, Dumb Show.)

Tragedy reviews the action of Act II, ending:

"Now of his death the generall intent
Thus Tragedy doth to your eyes present.

The Musicke playing, enters Lust bringing forth Browne and Roger, at one ende, mistres Sanders and mistres Drurie at the other, they offering cheerefully to meete and embrace, suddenly riseth vp a great tree betweene them, whereat amazedly they step backe, wherupon Lust bringeth an axe to mistres Sanders, shewing signes that she should cut it downe, which she refuseth, albeit mistres Drurie offers to helpe her. Then Lust brings the axe to Browne and shews

For example, in the manuscript of Massinger's Believe As You List (British Museum, Egerton 2828, 1631) the prompter has made marginal notes:

line 1830 "Gascoigne: & Hubert below: ready to open the Trap doore for Mr. Taylor."

and

line 1877 "Antiochus" (that is Mr. Taylor) "ready: vnder the stage."

the like signes to him as before, whereupon he roughlie and suddenly hewes downe the tree, and then they run together and embrace."

This effect might have been achieved by raising a tree which had been lying horizontal so that it would stand upright between Browne and Mistress Sanders, but it seems more likely that it was raised through a trap by men standing below the stage. A mechanized trap does not seem necessary.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q 1607 - A2)(Opening Dumb Show)

The Italian historian Francis Guicchiardine, from whose History of Italy published in 1561 much of the plot is derived, appears as the Prologue and says:

"I Francis Guicciardine, a Florentine,
Am by the powerful and commanding Muse,
Sent down to let you see the Tragedie
Of Roderigo Borgia lately Pope.

.

Hee with a silver rod moveth the ayre three times

Enter

At one doore betwixt two other Cardinals, Roderigo in his purple habit close in conference with them, one of which he guidaeth to a Tent where a table is furnished with diuers bagges of money which that Cardinall beareth away: and to another Tent the other Cardinall, where hee deliuereth him a great quantity of rich plate, embraces with ioyning of hands.

Exeunt Card. Manet Roderigo

To whom from another place a Moncke, with a magical booke and rod, in priuate whispering with Roderick whome the Monke draweth to a chaire on midst of the stage which hee circleth and before it an other circle into which after semblance of reading with exorcismes appeare exhalations of lightening and sulphurous in midst whereof a diuill in most ugly shape: from which Roderigo turneth his face, hee seeing coniured downe after more thunder and fire, ascends another diuill like a Sargeant with a mace under his girdle: Roderigo disliketh. Hee discendeth: after more thunder and feareful fire, ascend in robes pontificall with a triple Crowne on his head, and Crosse keyes in his hand: a diuill him ensuing in black robes with a pronotary, a cornered Cappe on his head, a box of Lancets at his girdle, a little peece of fine parchment in his hand, who being brought vnto Alexander, hee willingly receiueth him; to whome hee deliuereth the wryting, which seeming to reade presently the Pronotary strippeth up Alexanders sleeue and letteth his arme bloud in a saucer, and hauing taken a

peece from the Fronotary, subscribeth to the parchment; deliuereth it; the remainder of the bloud, the other diuill seemeth to suppe up; and from him disroabed is put the rich Cap the Tunicle, and the triple Crowne set upon Alexanders head, the Crosse-keys deliuered into his hands; and withall a magicall booke: this donne with thunder and lightning the diuills discend: Alexander advanceth himselfe and departeth."

(Q - G_v)(IV,1,line 1764)

"Fiery exhalations lightening thunder ascend a King, with a red face crowned imperiall riding upon a Lyon or dragon: Alexander putteth on more perfume and saith."

(Q - G₂)(IV, i, line 1788)

"The diuill descendeth with thunder and lightening and after more exhalations ascends another all in armor."

(the same - line 1818)

"Deuill descendeth with thunder &c. "

(Q - M_{2v})(V, Scen Ultima, line 3279)

"Thunder and lightening with fearful noise the diuells thrust him downe and goe Triumphant."

These elaborate ascents and descents are combined with simpler directions:

(Q - G₂)(IV, i, line 1800)

"He (the devil) goeth to one doore from whence he bringeth the ghost of Candie gastly haunted by Caesar persuing and staboing it, these vanish in at another door."

(Q - M₂)(V, ult. line 3268)

"The Diuill windeh his horne in his eare and there more diuills enter with a noise incompassing him, Alexander starteth."

This contrast between elaborate ascent and simple entrance in scenes involving the supernatural is interesting. It seems likely that in travelling, or where-ever traps were not available, ascents became entrances, and descents simple exits. The actual performance which this edition of The Devil's Charter purports to describe was at Court, and if it were not for corroborating evidence in other plays, I would not be inclined to accept the elaborate shows indicated as evidence of the first Globe requirements. Even allowing for such collaboration, I think the public theatre effects may often have been somewhat simpler.

Macbeth (33, C 7)(F 1623 - T 144)(IV, i)

" 1. Apparation, an Armed Head Thunder

• • • • He descends

• • • • Thunder

2. Apparition, a Bloody Childe

• • • • Descends
Thunder

3. Apparation, a Childe crowned with a Tree in his hand

Descend "

The dialogue has been omitted from the above excerpt. The scene continues:

"Macb. I will be satisfied. Deny me this,
And an eternall Curse fall on you: Let me know.
Why sinkes that Caldron? & what noise is this? Hoboyes.

1	Shew
2	Shew
3	Shew

All. Shew his Eyes, and greeve his Hart.
Come like shadowes, so depart.

A shew of eight Kings, and Banquo last, with a glasse in his hand.

Mac. Thou art too like the Spirit of Banquo: Down
Thy Crowne do's sear mine Eye-balls. And thy haire
Thou other Glod-bound-brow, is like the first:
A third, is like the former. Filthy Haggas,
Why do you shew me this?--A fourth? Start eyes!
What will the Line stretch out to' th' cracke of Doome?
Another yet? A seuenth? Ile see no more:
And yet the eight appeares, who beares a glasse,
Which shewes me many more: and some I see
That two-fold Balles, and trebble Scepters carry."

In spite of the dialogue, this scene is very like the dumb shows already cited. The apparitions descend as indicated by the stage directions. The cauldron also descends, as indicated by the lines of Macbeth. The three apparitions may have appeared out of the cauldron. It would have been technically easy to have raised them from under the stage if the cauldron had no bottom. It is interesting that the cauldron descends before the show of eight kings. If these used the trap, they must have mounted and descended stile-like steps

rather rapidly to keep pace with Macbeth's lines,
and the full trap opening would have needed to be free.

Aside from the miraculous effects already illustrated from
the Dumb Shows of the first Globe plays, the use of a trap
may be indicated in some scenes involving a grave or vault.

An Alarum for London (15, A 3)(Q 1602 - E_{4v})

Van End, a traitor in league with the Spanish
conquerors of Antwerp enters aith a Burger's wife:

"Van. Pittie prevailes not, treasure is the fee,
That bribes the terror of my threatening brest,
And therefore speake, else thou hast spoke thy last.

Wife. Within that vault lyes all my wretched wealth,
My golde, my plate, my Iewels all are there.

Van. . . . Which is the way?

She pushes him downe.

Wife. That is the cursed way
Goe thou accurst into that shade of hell

. . . .

Enter Stumpe

. . . .

Stum. For Gods sake let me come plague the dog,
Ile stone the Iew to death and paint this vault
With the vnhalloved bloud of wicked treason:

Heere weare this waightie Iewell in thy hat;

The towne hath sent it for a token slaue; Throw stones

I bought this with the groate you gaue me sir; Another sto.

Soldiers must loath despis'd ingratitude.

This woman for her ransome sends you this; Another

Giue these two unto Charon for your passing. Another

And with this last, present grim Belzebub. Another"

Hamlet (19, A 6)(Q, 1603 - I_v)(V, i)

"Laer. Forbeare the earth a while: sister farewell:

Laertes leapes into the graue

Now powre your earth Olympus hie,

And make a hill to O're top olde Fellon Hamlet leapes
Whats he that coniures so? in after Laertes"

In Q,1604, and in F 1623, there is indication in the dialogue that Laertes leaps into the grave, but no stage direction: (Q,1604 - M_{4v})(F 1623 - T 278)

"Laer. . . . hold off the earth a while,
Till I haue caught her once more in mine armes;
Now pile your dust vpon the quicke and dead,
Till of this flat a mountaine you haue made
. . . . "

Similarly, there is only Hamlet's imitation of Laertes' raving to indicate that he follows him into the grave. Without the illumination of Q, this would hardly afford sufficient evidence.

"Ham. . . .
And if thou prate of mountaines, let them throe
Millions of Acres on vs, till our ground
Sindging his pate against the burning Zone
Make Offa like a wart, "

These scenes are typical of those in the extant first Globe repertory which seem to indicate the use of a trap. According to them, and to others of a more controversial nature¹ in which I believe a trap was probably used, a single trap is all that was required. Its opening must have been large enough to have allowed the successive apparitions in Macbeth, and to have served as a grave. An opening about six feet long and two feet wide would have been adequate. There is nothing to indicate where it was placed, but it is hardly likely that it was anywhere but centrally located on the main stage.

¹For example, Timon of Athens, (41, C 10)(F 1623 - T 90-1) where Timon discovers gold in the wood. There is no stage direction to illuminate contemporary action, but the discovery is preceded by the line:

"Earth yeelde me Rootes"

and when expressing his intention of hiding it, Timon says:

"But yet Ile bury thee."

Both fragments of dialogue suggest that the gold is "underground."

There is no definitive evidence in the plays which helps in determining the shape or size of the Stage. The direction in Titus Andronicus (2, B 2)(Q 1611 - A₃)(I,1) for the entrance of ten characters "and others, as many as may be" is probably indicative of the real flexibility of all stage directions on the literal acceptance of which scholars base so many conclusions. In spite of this, the number of scenes in the first Globe plays in which several characters, each with a troop of followers, are moved about the stage suggests that the stage approached that of the Fortune in size--that is 43 feet by about 20 feet, exclusive of the tiring house. To give one example, involving at least twenty one people on the stage at one time, with room to move in procession:

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q 1607 - D_v)(II, i)

"Enter: King Charles, Cardinal Saint Peter ad Vincula, and Ascanio Ludowik Sforza, Mompansier, ensignes, souldiers."

Alexander and his company are on the walls above. There is a long scene of parleys, using both acting areas--upper and main. Then Alexander descends and this stage direction follows:

"Drums and Trumpets: Charles and his company make a garde, Gasper de Foies, Piccolominy, Caesar, Caraffa, Cardinals, a Frier with a holy water-pot; the Duke of Candie with a sword, Astor Manfredy supporting Alexanders traine, all bow as the Pope marcheth solemnly through who crosseth them with his fingers. Alexander being set in state Caesar Borgia and Caraffa aduance to fetch King Charles who being presented vnto the pope kisseth his foote, & then aduancing two degrees higher, kisseth his cheeke: then Charles bringeth St. Peter ad Vincula and Ascanio, which with all reuerence kisse his feete, one of them humbly deliuering vp his Crosse-keyes which hee receiueth, blessing them and the rest of Charles company."

To summarize: the texts of the first Globe plays indicate that the playhouse was probably round, that the acting area

was elevated, and that there was one trap door, probably centrally located on the main stage. In order to accomodate this the stage was probably elevated to a height of five to five and a half feet, and there is no evidence that its shape and size differed from that of the Fortune, which was 43 by 20 feet.

STAGE ENTRANCES

How many doors were needed to stage these plays? How big were they? Were they placed flat in the wall of the tiring house as shown in the Swan drawing, or were they placed obliquely as in most modern reconstructions? The evidence in the plays is, again, inadequate to answer any of these questions positively.

The plays do offer positive evidence of two doors. Seldom is the reference so definitely to one door, and the other as, for example, in three plays whose dates pretty well span this period:

Titus Andronicus (2, B 2)(Q 1611 - B_{4v})(I,i)

"Enter the Emporor, Tamora and her two sonnes with the Moore at one doore. Enter at the other doore Bassianus with Lavinia and others."

The Malcontent (26, A 11)(Q 1604 - augmented edition - D)(II,ii)

"Enter Maleuole at one doore, Beancha, Emilia, and Maquerelle at the other."

Pericles (42, A 21)(Q1609 - G₃)(IV,iii)(Dumb Show)

"Enter Pericles, at one door with all his Train; Cleon and Dionyza at the other."

Ususally the reference is to one doore and an other. For example:

Richard III (1, B 1)(Q 1602 - G₄)(III,vii)

"Enter Gloster at one dore, Buckingham at another."

Satiromastix (18, A 5)(Q 1602 - F_{4v})

"They bring him to the doore: Enter at another doore Sir Vaughan."

The Fair Maid of Bristow (31, A 14)(Q 1605 - E₄)

"Enter at one doore Anabele disguised like a man and at another Challinger."

I Jeronimo (27, A 12)(Q 1605 - A₄)(I,ii)

"Enter Horatio at one doore, Andrea at an other."

This is typical of the three references in the play (See also A₂ and F₁)

Sometimes the reference is to "several" doors with the obvious meaning of two. For example:

King Lear (32, A 15)(Q 1608 - F3)(III,i)

"Enter Kent and a Gentleman at seuerall doores."

The Malcontent (26, A 11)(Q 1604 - augmented edition - G₂)(IV, iv)

"Enter Maluole and Pietro still disguised at seuerall doores."

Coriolanus (39, C 8)(F 1623 - T 6)(I,viii)

"Enter Martius and Auffidius at seuerall doores."

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q1607 - A₃)(I,i)

"Enter marching after drummes and trumpets at two seuerall places."

and, (K₄)(V,i)

"They goe forth two seuerall ways and Rotsi is shot by Baglione."

In these plays the stage direction "several" never indicates the need for more than two doors. It is used as we would use "different." This is true even of a direction involving a large number of people. For example:

Measure for Measure (27, C 5)(F 1623 - C79)(V,i)

"Enter Duke, Varrius, Lords, Angelo, Escalus, Lucio, citizens at seuerall doores."

Here the Duke, with Varrius and other Lords, is entering the city, while Angelo, Escalus, Lucio, and the citizens are coming out to meet him. The two groups meet on the stage.

The use of "several" to mean "different" is not unusual for the period, nor is it confined to stage directions. It appears also, for example, in the text of Coriolanus (39, C 8)(F 1623 - T 23)(IV,vi)

"Aedile. Worthy Tribunes

There is a slaue whom we haue put in prison
Reports the Volces with two seuerall Powers
Are entred in the Roman Territories."

Another example of this usage in stage directions is that in

Timon of Athens:(41, C 10)(F 1623 - T 9-)(III,vi)

"Enter diuers Friends at seueral doors."

Here the men are entering to a banquet and would presumably enter in groups, possibly by rank, socially. The direction at the opening of the same play:

"Enter Poet, Painter, Ieweler, Merchant, and Mercer,
at seuerall doores."

is rather different, since the men are coming individually as suitors to Timon. Here it seems more likely that the entrances listed at the opening of the scene are not intended to be simultaneous on the stage. The poet and the painter enter at opposite doors, and, a few lines later, the merchant and the jeweller come on.

On the whole, in Shakespeare's plays of this period, the stage doors are not identified at all. They are simply the means of entrance and exit to and from undefined areas, or vaguely identified streets, roads, fields, and castle halls. The action is extremely fluid. The doors which do have identity are those which are knocked upon, or which serve as entrances for characters who have previously appeared above. For example, in Richard III,(1,B 1) the door of Hastings' house which is knocked upon in III,ii or the door in Baynard's castle from which Gloster exits in III, vii, in order to appear above, and through which Catesby goes and comes when conveying messages to him and returning with answers.

In Titus Andronicus (2, B 2)(I,i) one door leads toward the Senate house "above" but not necessarily to it. Here as in scenes in which a stage door is used by

characters entering a room in a castle, house, or tavern, it may logically be regarded as opening into a general passage beyond, in which other specific doors are to be found. In the same play (V,ii) one of the stage doors is knocked upon by Tamora and her sons. She refers to it as Titus' "study door." Later lines suggest that he answers from above, since he twice asked to come down; but the stage direction says that he opens his study door. Here again, then, the stage door may lead either into, or merely toward a specified dramatic area.

In Romeo and Juliet (3, B 3)(III,iii) the door to Friar Lawrence's cell in which the Friar and Romeo are talking is knocked upon by Juliet's nurse.

The direction in Q., repeated in the later Qq and F, reads "enter the nurse and knocke." This seems to me an error when compared with Q. which has simply "Nurse knockes," presumably from within (if the direction is literal, "without" if it is dramatic) as other stage directions of the period suggest was usual. Even so, there is always danger of invalidating research by disregarding what the preponderance of evidence makes appear erroneous. A divergent direction may hold the clue to a whole piece of stage practice heretofore misunderstood.

Reynolds accepts "Enter and knocke" as a literal indication of the order of the action. (p.47) If so, this scene may indicate a change in stage facilities between Q. and Q. -- that is between 1597 and the Globe of 1599--as may the changes in stage directions in the balcony scene, discussed in the section on the upper stage.

I find Reynolds' comments on the direction "Enter and Knocke" too vague to explain the kind of action he has in mind. Presumably he would place this scene on the inner stage, as is usual among scholars, because it is set within the small compass of a friar's cell. In this case, the nurse enters through a main stage door and knocks at the inner stage opening. Reynolds postulates (p.118) an actual door, but surely this would obscure the inner stage entirely.

The whole scene seems to me a main stage action. The friar enters by one door from the street where he has been seeking information about Romeo's fate. He calls:

Later, in IV,i, Juliet, who has been in the Friar's cell with the friar and Paris, says when Paris leaves:

"O, shut the door: and when thou hast done so
Come weep with me; past hope, past cure, past help."

In both these scenes, one of the stage doors is probably used as the dramatic door required by the action.

In Richard II (5, B 5)(III,iii) when Richard descends from the walls of Flint castle and enters the main stage, he assigns a certain identity to the door through which he comes; and, in V,iii, the door of a room in Bolingbrooke's castle is made dramatically important by Aumerle's:

"Then giue me leaue that I may turne the key,
That no man enter till my tale me done."

and York's:

"Open the door secure foole-hardy King:

Open the door, or I will breake it open."

and later his Duchess':

"Speake with me, pittie me, open the dore."

"Romeo, come forth, come forth"
and Romeo enters by the other door, as from the friar's study. If there is an inner stage, Romeo may enter from there. He and friar discuss his banishment, and in the midst of their conversation the "Nurse knockes" or "Enter the nurse and knocke." For the nurse to enter before she knocks, and then to knock on some suggested door on the stage, would destroy some of the dramatic suspense for a modern audience, but there is evidence that the element of surprise was less a part of the Elizabethan dramatic tradition. At any event, the friar tries to persuade Romeo to hide in his study, but he is still on the main stage when the nurse discloses her identity and is admitted.

The action in the scene is so simple, and so easily presented on the Swan-type stage with a plain rear wall and two doors; but of course this is not conclusive evidence against Q2. The variations can perhaps best be noted and left.

In The Merchant of Venice (6,B 6)(II,v) Jessica entering after speaking from the "window" above gives a fleeting identity to the door of shylock's house.

In I Henry IV (7, B 7)(II,i) the Chamberlain speaks from "within" to two carriers on the main stage, and enters afterwards, giving the same kind of identity to the door of the "inn". Poins calling "Francis" from "some by-room" and Prince Hal's remark to the vintner "Let them alone awhile, and then open the door" (II, i¹⁰), and other similar remarks are suggestive of general setting rather than the specific identity of any single door.

The identity of the stage doors in II Henry IV (8, B 8)(I,i) is rather more difficult to assign. Lord Bardolph enters asking who keeps the gate to Northumberland's Castle. He is answered by a porter, who after finding out who he is, says: (F 1623 - H 74)

"His Lordship is walk'd forth into the Orchard:
Please it your honour knock but at the gate,
And he himselfe will answer."

The action suggests that the porter is not there to guard the gate of the orchard, but the castle gate, or possibly the gate to an inner court in which the orchard gate lies. At any rate, only one gate has a dramatically important identity--the orchard gate. If the porter follows Bardolph on to the stage through the same door, the second door will remain free to represent the orchard gate through which Northumberland enters immediately.

In contrast, words like Justice Shallow's "Lets in to dinner" in the same play (III,ii) do not make the door through which he and the other characters exit into the door of a house or room. The treatment of doors in all these plays suggests that, in most

cases they simply mark the point at which the audience loses sight of characters on their way to the door of a house or room.

In the same play (IV,iv) several characters enter the King's chamber at his call. He asks for the Prince of Wales who has carried off the crown, and Warwick, one of those who has just entered, says:

"The door is open, he is gone this way,"
thereby giving the door importance, and incidentally indicating that both stage doors were used, because he is obviously not speaking of the door through which they have just entered.

Both Henry V (11, A 1) and Coriolanus (39, C 8) have scenes with city gates, and one door must be reserved for them in the scenes in which they occur. Since doors proportionally like those in the Swan drawing would have been quite adequate for the action, I believe one of them was used in scenes of this kind.

The Merry Wives of Windsor (16, A 4) has the dramatically important door of the closet in which Simple is concealed (I,iv) and later, two room doors, one of which leads toward the street, and one toward the stairs. (IV,ii) The door in I,iv is definite. The others are vague.

Julius Caesar (12, C 1)(II,i) has the lines:
(F 1623 - T 114)

"Brut.(us) 'Tis good. Go to the gate, somebody knocks:"
and later:

"Luc.(ius) Sir, 'tis your Brother Cassius at the Doore."
This is typical of the dramatic unreality of the structural stage doors in many of these plays. The door or gate referred to is not the visible door of the stage, but lies somewhere beyond it.

The habit of using a stage door as an exit to a dramatic door may help in arranging the entrances in the Porter scene in Macbeth (F 1623 - T 137)

(33, C 7)(II,iii) where the action seems to call for at least three doors. The Porter enters, because of knocking on the main gate of the castle, and admits Macduff and Lennox. Macduff is shown the door of Duncan's room, finds Duncan murdered, and returns to cry horror. The others sleeping within the castle enter at different times during the scene --Lady Macbeth, Banquo Ross, Malcolm, and Donalbain. Lady Macbeth faints and is carried off, and eventually all go into other parts of the castle, except Malcolm and Donalbain who flee from it.

Both the dramatically identified door and gate may be off stage. Then the Porter enters for his opening soliloquy and exits through the same stage door to go to the dramatically identified "gate" beyond. Similarly, Macbeth's "This is the Door" (of Duncan's room) may be spoken from the other stage door as if pointing out a room door beyond. From a modern standpoint, this would be more believable if the structural stage doors remained open.

If the first Globe had a curtained inner stage, the curtain would afford a third means of access to the stage, and both structural doors could have kept dramatic identity throughout this scene. The scene is rare among the scenes in the forty-three plays under consideration in that there seems dramatic reason for retaining the identity of a stage door of Duncan's room. It is almost impossible to think of any audience accepting the entrance of, say, Lady Macbeth through the same door on which their attention has just been so keenly focussed by the exit of Macbeth and Lennox to Duncan's chamber. The door which was the gate, or which led to it, is less dramatically important. It could, after that one bit of action, become simply a means of getting on and off

the stage without having any dramatic identification. The lines make it clear that those exiting have different destinations. I think it possible that Duncan's door is a stage door, but that the castle gate, as suggested above, lies somewhere beyond the other structural door.

In Troilus and Cressida (22, A 8)(IV,ii) the scene is vaguely set in Cressida's ante-room, but both stage doors have dramatic meaning in that a knock is heard and Cressida says: (F 1623 - g g 2)

"Who's that at doore? good Vncle goe and see.
My Lord, come you againe into my Chamber:"

Measure for Measure (27, C 5)(I,iv) has the nunnery gate on which Lucio knocks from without--i. e. from within the tiring house--and is answered by Isabella who is on the stage. This action identifies the stage door.

Othello (29, C 6)(I,i) has the door of Brabantio's house from which he enters after speaking with Iago and roderigo from above; and (I,ii) the door of Othello's lodging, of which Othello says: (F 1623 - T 312)

"I will but spend a word here in the house,
And goe with you."

In both of these scenes the remaining stage door would have served for both entrances and exits to and from the street before the identified house.

In Othello (V,ii) there is the door of Desdemona's chamber on which Emilia knocks, again from within the tiring house, and then enters. (F 1623 - T 336)

The door to the house in which the king and his friends seek refuge from the storm in King Lear (32, A 15)(III,vi)

comes close to having dramatic meaning, as do all doors through which characters enter when the stage represents a more restricted dramatic area such as a chamber or small building, but even here the identity of the door is not dramatically important.

In none of his other plays did Shakespeare make any dramatic use of doors. This is true of most of the non-Shakespearian plays, also. Their use of doors is very similar, in that they are only dramatically real momentarily because they are shut, or knocked upon.

In Thomas Lord Cromwell (21, A 7)(III,iii)(Q 1602 - 64) "Cromwell shuts the dore" according to the stage direction, in order to gain privacy.

In Every Man Out of his Humor (13, A 2)(Q 1600- E₃ & E_{3v})(II,i) Lady Puntarvolo, after speaking from the window of her castle, descends and enters through what a logical-minded modern audience would regard as its entrance. In IV,ii (Q 1600 - L - omitted in the Folio) there is the direction:

"Enter Fallace running, at another dore and claps it t66." Here the dramatically important thing is the barrier of the door itself, and not the doorway, nor the areas it separates. Similarly in V, iv (Q 1600 - E_{2v} - Scena Tertia) there is the barrier of the tavern door, of which the Constable says:

"Open the dore, or I will break it open."

In The Merry Devil of Edmonton there is a nunnery gate, as in Measure for Measure, but this time seen from without. (III,ii) (Q 1608 - D_{2v} has Mounchensey's words of address "Holy maidens" and the stage direction "knocke" all printed together as a direction, and followed by the direction "Answer" within.)

In Satiromastix (18, A 5)(Q 1602 - C2v)(I,ii) there is the study door of horace on which Crispinius and Demetrius knock. In A Warning for Fair Women (14, B 11)(Q 1599 - B2v)() there is the house door of Mistress Sanders in which she sits to talk with Browne, and welcome her son from school and her husband from work. This is similar to the house doors already mentioned in Othello, and The Merchant of Venice.

When doors with specified indentities open on to a vaguely identified main stage street to and from which characters must enter and exit, they create the problem which makes a modern staging of some of the plays difficult on a two door stage like that of the Swan. By "modern" in this sense, I mean a staging in which a stage door, like the door of a stage set, assumes a dramatic identity in the minds of an audience and retains that identity at least throughout a complete scene. In most of the plays in the extant first Globe reportory, the action is so arranged that two doors are adequate even for such a modern staging. This is true, not because no clearcut identity is assigned to any door. A scene like the Porter scene in Macbeth immediately raises questions about the number of doors required because the action does assign dramatic identity to the castle gate and the door of Duncan's chamber. It is in a problem scene like this that one is faced with an intangible which has the power to defeat so many speculations and reconstructions. Does the habit of mind of a present day audience make it demand a reality and consistency in the use of structural parts of the visible stage or the stage setting which would never have occurred to its



Elizabethan predecessors? When an Elizabethan character moved away from the stage door to which he had assigned identity by word or action, did the door retain the identity, or did the actor's moving dispel it?

The problem can perhaps be better understood in relation to another of the problem scenes--that which comprises Act V of The London Prodigal. (30, A 13)(Q 1603 - F3 to G4v) The scene opens with the stage direction "Enter Flowerdale solus."

"Flo. On goes he that knowes no end of his iourney. I haue passed the very vtmost bounds of shifting. I haue no course now but to hang my selfe: I haue liued since yesterday two a clocke of a spice-cake I had at a buriall: and for drinke, I got it at an Ale house among Porters, such as will beare out a man if he haue no money, indeed--I meane out of their companyes, for they are men of good carriage. Who comes heere? The two Conycatchers, that woon all my mony of me. Ile trie if thayle lend me any.

Enter Dicke and Rafe.

What, M.Richard, how doe you? How doest thou Rafe? By God, gentlemen, the world growes bare with me: will you do as much as lend me an Angel betweene you both. You know you won a hundred of me the other day.

Rafe. How, an Angel? God damb vs, if we lost not euery penny within an houre after thou wert gone
.... For shame, betake you to some honest Trade,
And live not thus so like a Vagabond. Exit both.

Flo. A Vagabond, indeed! more villaines you:
They gaue me counsell that first cozend me:
Those Diuels first brought me to this I am,
And being thus, the first that doe me wrong.
Well, yet I haue one friend left in store:
Not farre from hence there dwels a Cokatryce,
One that I first put in a satten gowne,
And not a tooth that dwels within her head,
But stands me at the least in 20. pound:
Her will I visite now my coyne is gone,
And, as I take it, heere dwelles the Gentlewoman.
What ho, is Mistresse Apricocke within?

Enter Ruffyn.

Ruff. What sawsie Rascall is that which knocks so bold?
O, is it you? old spend-thrift, are you here?
One that is turned Cozoner about the towne:
My Mistresse say you, and sends this word by me:
Either be packing quickly from the doore,
Or you shall haue such a greeting sent you strait,
As you will little like on: you had best be gone,

Flo. Why so, this is as it should be: being poore
Thus art thou serued by a vile painted whoore.
Well, since thy damned crew doe so abuse thee,
Ile try of honest men, how they will vse me.

Enter an auncient Citizen.

Flowerdale begs of the citizen, and gets an angel and the advice:

Goe to your friends, do not on this depend:
Such bad beginnings oft haue worser ends. Exit Citt.

Flo. Worser endes: nay, if it fall out no worse then
in old angels I care not. Nay, now I haue had such
a fortunate beginning, Ile not let a sixpennie-
purse escape me. By the Masse, here comes another.

Enter a Citizens wife with a torch before her.

Flowerdale begs of her and is given two shillings.

Flo. Now God thanke you, sweete Lady: if you haue any
friend, or Garden-house, where you may imploy a
poore gentleman as your friend, I am yours to
command in all secret seruice.

Citiz. I thanke you, good friend. I prethy let me see
that again I gaue thee: there is one of them a
brasse shilling; giue me them, and here is halfe
a crowne in gold. (He giues it her.) Nowe, out
upon thee, Rascall! secret seruice! what doest
thou make of mee? Now that I haue my money againe,
ile see thee hanged before I giue thee a pennie.
Secret seruice! On good Alexander. Exit both.

Flow. This is villanous lucke. I perceiue dishonestie
will not thriue: here comes more. God forgiue mee,
Sie Arthur, and M. Oliuer: afore God, Ile speake
to them.

Enter Sir Arthur, and M. Oliuer.

Flowerdale begs of them, saying his wife is sick, and is
given forty shillings. They exit.

Flow. By the Lord, this is excellent.
Five golden Angles compast in an houre!
If this trade hold, ile neuer seeke a new.
Welcome, sweet gold: and beggery adue.

Enter Vncle and Father (of Flowerdale. His
father is disguised
as a servant, Kester,
and unknown to him.)
Vnc. See, Kester, if you can find the
house. "

Flowerdale tries to beg of them, but they
will have nothing to do with him.

Fath. Syr, I haue nought to say to you. Open the doore
Tanikin: thou hadst best lockt fast, for theres a
false knaue without.

Flow. You are an old lying Rascall, so you are. Exit Both.

Enter Luce" (Flowerdale's wife
disguised as Tanikin
a Dutch servant in
the house of her
brother-in-law
Civit.)
Flowerdale tries to beg from Luce, whom he
does not recognise, and during the conver-
sation his disguised father enters again,
in time to hear Flowerdale saying to Luce:

" Why, theres it: theres not a handful of plate but
belongs to me, Gods my Iudge: if I had but such a
wench as thou art, theres neuer a man in England
would make more of her, then I would doe, so she
had any stocke. They call within: O, why Tanikin.

Luce. Stay, one doth call; I shall come by and by againe.

Flow. By this hand, this ditch wench is in loue with me.
Were it not admirall to make her steale all Ciuetes
Plate, and runne away.

Fath. Twere beastly, O maister Flowerdale,
Haue you no feare of God, nor conscience?

....

Goe, get you hence, least lingering where you stay,
you fall into their hands you looke not for.

Flow. Ile tarie here, till the Dutch Froe comes, if all
the diuels in hell were here. Exit Father.

Enter syr Lancelot, maister Weathercocke,
and Artychoake. (Sir Lancelot is
father to Luce. He is
looking for Civit's
house.)

Lance. "Where is the doore? are we not past it Artychoake?" They recognise Flowerdale and threaten him with prison for his past misdeeds.

"Enter maister Ciuert, his wife, Oliuer,
syr Arthur, Father, and Vncle, Delia."

Then follows Flowerdale's repentance and the end of the play.

The setting of the action just described is London, and a public street. There are the many entrances and exits of characters many of whom are casual citizens passing that way on business of their own which does not concern the action of the play, except as they are stopped for a moment by Flowerdale. Movement along a public street seems to require two stage doors if it is to flow easily, swiftly and casually, without the characters meeting each other in their entrances and exits. Flowerdale has a short speech between each of his succeeding encounters, but it is usually one of only four lines--not enough to allow one group of characters to exit and the next to enter by the same door without meeting. Such meetings would not seem illogical, on what is supposed to be a public street, even to a modern audience; but they would delay the exiting characters and make it difficult for Flowerdale to speak to the entertaining characters without being overheard by those who are on their way out. Again, of course, much depends on the habit of the mind of the age. It is not impossible to accept something that a character gives no indication of hearing as unheard by him; and in that case the exiting characters, ignoring all remarks made after their scene, exit when the doorway is free.

The play The London Prodigal was published in 1605.

Publication usually lagged a year or two behind production, During the period 1603-5, the King's Men were travelling most of the time. The title-page drawings of Roxana, Messalina, and The Wits all suggest that stages with only one curtained entrance were not unknown as much as fifty years later. If the travelling company acted with only one entrance, and a smaller stage, they may have been able to get one group off and the next one on during Flowerdale's four or five lines. If they could not, one group must have waited.

It seems definitely established that there were two doors at the Globe, on the basis of the evidence already cited. The question, then, is not whether it is possible to have two openings to use for the street, but, rather, whether it is possible to use both in a street scene which also has two houses whose doors are referred to. Most scholars assume that doors in Elizabethan playhouses had fixed identities which they retained, in a modern manner, at least throughout a single scene. I believe that a door had a dramatic identity only while actually being employed in the action. Suppose, for example, that both doors of a two door stage such as that pictured in the Swan drawing, are used for the street in the scene under discussion. When Flowerdale says:

"And, as I take it, Heere dwelles the Gentlewoman.
What ho, is Mistresse Apricocke within?"

he could knock at either door, since a fairly long speech and some moving about the stage has changed his relationship to the spot at which Rafe and Dicke were last seen. When he knocks, Ruffyn appears at that door, and the scene progresses logically according to our modern idea, with Flowerdale moving away from the door on his four lines, and getting ready to greet the ancient citizen when he enters from the

other door. It would even be possible for Ruffyn to appear above, except that such upper stage uses are usually so clearly marked that it seems unlikely that one is intended here.

When next the action calls for a house door, it is that of Civet's house which would naturally be the one by which "Vncle and Father" have not just entered. They exit into the house. Luce enters from it, and so does Father a few lines later. He exits into it again at his next exit, since he subsequently enters in the company of the people who live there. From the moment that the door of that house becomes important, and has a clear identity in the minds of the audience, there is only one entrance and no exits that do not use it. Thus a scene representing an open street with two houses on it whose doors figure in the action, is easily actable on a stage as simple as that in the Swan drawing, if we are not required to retain the identity of a door when it is no longer important to the action.

As to the size of the doors, there is, again, very little "evidence" on which to base conjectures. Some evidence is afforded by the properties for the entrance of which the doors were presumably used, especially if there was no curtained space. Small properties shed little light on the problem, but the large ones which had to be pushed or carried on should give very definite clues. Evidence for the existence of these properties may be found in the section on the subject, and among the larger ones are thrones, states, tents, beds, scaffolds, hearses, arbors, and trees; but the evidence of their size and construction is lacking.

If the throne is thought of in as realistic terms as possible, the coronation throne of England is very small,

platform would solve any difficulty, and such a platform could be carried in through a door.

The tents are the next large property listed above. The indications are that some of the tents in the plays of this period were fairly large, but by their very nature, they could be struck and easily carried through any door.

Curtained beds present the most difficult problem of all the large properties and in the final analysis, the size of the stage door openings depends on the size of the curtained beds. Unfortunately we need a better idea of what Elizabethan stage beds were like and how they were used. It is possible that even these were not the inflexible properties which their sturdy carved oak prototypes in historic bedrooms suggest. The same flexible canopie used to cover a state could have made a couch or cot into a curtained bed. By itself, this canopie could have been the temporary curtained enclosure suggested by Reynolds in place of an inner stage. A contemporary meaning of "traverse" is given by the N.E.D. as a "small compartment, enclosed by a curtain or screen, in a church, house, etc. a closet." This supports the idea that privacy obtained by small enclosures set up in large rooms and undivided buildings would have been familiar to the audience, and the "studies" of personages of rank may well have been presented in this way on the Elizabethan stage.

Scaffolds occur far less frequently in the plays, but, like beds and states, can be assembled out of properties easily carried by one man. Biers or hearses can be, and sometimes were carried by two, (Titus Andronicus Q 1611 - A3) but the honoured dead were usually carried by four.

Many processions list characters marching two by two. I know of no reference to three abreast in the first Globe plays.

These are the clues to the size of the doors-- these and scenes of rapid entrance and exit by large numbers of people, such as the skirmishes in Coriolanus (I,iv,) They suggest fairly large doors-- no more than that.

THE CURTAINED SPACE

Today, after years of study by numerous scholars the architectural features of the tiring house in an Elizabethan playhouse are still a matter of conjecture. Almost all have come to agree that some kind of curtained space was necessary for discovery scenes; and this space has been defined as everything from "a removable curtained enclosure,"¹ or "a porch-like projection from the back wall,"² to an inner stage seven and a half to eight feet deep with a proscenium opening twenty-three feet wide and twelve feet high and with two trap doors in its floor and ceiling.³

The study of the first Globe plays has revealed no need for an enclosed rear stage as a necessary and permanent feature of the playhouse. The only feature of it which the plays can be said to demand is its curtain. All the evidence is against it as a structural unit of the stage with walls, doors, and even windows of its own. If there was a curtained opening between the two stage doors, the placing of a screen behind the curtain, making a small section of the tiring house temporarily usable for the discovery of super-natural effects and prearranged "settings" would have been adequate. A removable curtained structure similar to a tent would also have been adequate. The important thing is that a small space

¹ Chambers, III, 76

² Reynolds, p. 162.

³ Adams, pp. 171-3.

should be discoverable by means of the drawing of a curtain. When such a space was discovered it seldom contained more than one character. In one scene three are discovered. Usually the disclosed character is seated, and frequently he has a table in front of him. The discovered "settings" are usually confined to small properties on the table--"books lying confusedly" or money bags, or a magical crystal, or a candle burning. In no play is there any indication that the ensuing action takes place within the discovered space, and in one scene in The Devil's Charter the directions specify that Alexander "cometh upon the stage out of his study" for the active part of the scene.

An examination of the evidence in the plays with some discussion of each follows:

Satiromastix (18, A 5)(Q 1602 - B₄)(I,ii) has the direction:

"Horace sitting in a study behinde a curtaine, a candle by him burning, bookes lying confusedly: to himselfe."

Here the curtains are unimportant to the action of the play, in that Horace is not "discovered" for any dramatic reason. The number of properties used to "set" the scene possibly suggest that it was previously prepared behind a curtain, but there is no indication that the curtain was ever closed. The subsequent action does not differ in any way from usual action which was performed on the main stage.

Thomas Lord Cromwell (21, A 7)(Q 1602 - B_v)(II,i) has one of several references in this play to a study:

"Cromwell in his study with bagges of money before him casting of account."

There is no indication here that the study was not the main stage. The interesting thing is that three short scenes follow the stage direction. Cromwell is involved in part of each of them, but two of them open with soliloquies which he does not hear. The third opens with remarks by Cromwell which are not heard by the entertaining character. There are no exits indicated for Cromwell. This may be a printer's error, but it may also be an indication that Cromwell did not leave the stage but merely withdrew to his study. Just what that "study" was is impossible to determine from the text, or from the composite evidence of the first Globe plays. It may have been no more than the area immediately surrounding the bags of money; it may have been a small space whose isolation was emphasized by its being just within the partially opened tiring house curtains; or it may have been a temporary structure. At any rate, Cromwell's continued presence, even when withdrawn, contributes to the dramatic unity of an otherwise overly episodic scene.

It is difficult to make any valid generalizations about Elizabethan dramatic structure, but this scene seems to illustrate what Jonson may have had in mind when he wrote in Every Man Out of his Humor:

"Mit.(is) But he might have altered the shape of his argument, and explicated 'hem better in single Scenes.

Cor.(datus) That had been single indeed. Why, be they not the same persons in this, as they would have been in those? and is it not an object of more state to behold the Scene full, and reliev'd with variety of speakers to the end, than to see a vast empty stage and the actors come in (one by one) as if they were dropt down with a feather into the eye of the spectators."

Thomas Lord Cromwell III,ii(Q 1602 - D) reads:

"Crom. (well) Go take thy place Hodge, Ile call them in.

All is done, enter Hodge sits in the study, and
and if you please. Cromwell calles in the States.

Enter the States and Officers with Halberts.

Gou. (ernor) What haue you wone him? Will he yeelde
himselfe?

Cro. I haue, ante please you

Gov. Goe and conduct him to the Mantua Port
And see him safe deliuered presently. Exit Cromwell
Goe draw the curtaines, let vs see and Bedford.
the Earle.
O, he is writing, stand apart awhile.

Here there is a clear cut need for some sort of curtained space, but the space can be very small. Hodge sits in it writing, reading aloud, and singing; but none of the other characters enters it, and Hodge comes out to join in the action which concludes the scene. At another point in the same play, (IV, v)(Q 1602 - B_{4v}) is the direction:

"Enter Gardiner in his studie, and his man."

This study can certainly be the main stage. The playwright is using the word "study" dramatically as he might have used "orchard" or "garden."

The Merry Devil of Edmonton (24, A 9)(Q 1608 - A_{3v})
Prologue says:

" that spirite

 Comes now to claime the scholler for his due. Draw the
 Behold him heere laide on his restlesse couch, Curtaines.
 His fatall chime prepared at his head,
 His chamber guarded with these sable slights,
 And by him stands that Necromanticke chaire
 In which he makes his direfull inuocations,
 And binds the fiends that shall obey his will."

This scene seems to require a curtained space of some kind, but a curtained bed may have sufficed. Beds are

discussed at greater length in the section on properties but assuming here that there was such a property, would it have sufficed for this scene? When the prologue drew back the curtains did he not reveal not only Fabel, but also the chime, the chamber with its sable slights, and the necromantic chair? From the action which follows, I do not think so. Any answer is bound to be subjective to a large degree, but surely all the listed properties and a curtained bed could have been on the main stage. Fabel asks Coreb to sit down (in the necromantic chair) and wait. He then charms Coreb so that he cannot get out of the chair, and bargains with him for seven years more on earth in order to help a friend. The helping of the friend is the story of the rest of the play. It does not seem likely that all of this action, explaining the way in which Fabell got his magic power; would gain anything by being presented in a limited curtained space. If the curtain drawn was that of the bed, the prologue could have indicated the chair and chime on the main stage, and the subsequent action could have taken place there.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q 1607) has four scenes involving need for a curtained space:

(Q - B2v)(I, iv) "Alexander in his study with bookes,
coffers,

"Sable slights" have been variously interpreted to mean that the chamber was draped with black, and that it was guarded by means of black magic. I find it equally difficult to be sure if and how the "fatall chime" would have been realistically presented.

his triple Crowne vpon a cushion before him". This could have been played on any part of the stage, no enclosure is required; but, as in Satiromastix, the number of properties suggests pre-arranged setting, and since there are three other scenes in the same play which do require a curtained space, this one adds weight to the general need.

(Q - F4v)(IV,i) "Alexander in his studie beholding glasse with other obseruations."

and, a few lines later: (A - G)

"Alexander commeth vpon the Stage out of his study with a booke in his hand."

and, later in the same scene: (Q - G2v)

"Alexander into the studie."

Here Alexander is first seen in his study, from which he comes on the stage and to which he returns at the end of the scene. Were he not seen in the study, any entrance would have served. As it is, there is need for a separate defined space; but it should be noted that it is used for his soliloquy only. He "commeth vpon the Stage" before there is any action.

(Q - I2)(IV, v)"Enter Alexander out of his studie."

and

(Q - I2v) (IV, v) "Exit Alexander into his study."

This scene differs from the ones above in that there is no suggestion of "setting" nor is Alexander seen before he enters. A stage door would fulfil the requirements of the directions given. It is only in conjunction with the other scenes that consistency suggests that Alexander used whatever discoverable space was used before. One can only wonder if consistency had much weight in the Elizabethan theatre.

(Q - L3(Scene Ultima) "Alexander vnbraced betwixt two Cardinalls in his study looking vpon a booke, whilst a groome draweth the Curtaine."

and, a few lines later: (Q - L3v)

"Alexander draweth the Curtaine of his studie where hee discouereth the diuill sitting in his pontificals, Alexander crosseth himselfe starting at the sight."

This rather clinches the need of a space of some sort in this particular play; but, again, it can be seen that this required space is very small since it never accommodates more than three characters at any time.

The "arras" found in three of the plays: Hamlet (19, A 6) (Q 1603 - G2,) 'I Henry IV (7, B 7) (Q 1604 - E4)(II,iv), and The Merry Wives of Windsor (16, A 4)(Q 1602 - E) (III,iii) could have been just that, an arras or wall hanging put up on the back wall when needed for a particular play.

Both Romeo and Juliet (3, B 3) and Titus Andronicus (2, B 2) have scenes involving tombs. In Titus, the trap could have served as the tomb which is referred to as an "earthy prison" The trap almost certainly served as the grave of Ophelia in Hamlet; but there it was a grave, and it was the focus of the action. In Titus Andronicus the two burials are rather incidental, and speed in disposing of the bodies seems important. Only four or six lines are given to cover the actual placing of the bodies in the tomb.

'The quarto of 1604 has no reference to an arras. There is no stage direction in either quarto, but Q₁ has Polonius line:

"I'll shrowde myselfe behinde the Arras"

This does not rule out the use of the trap, but merely indicates that it may have been less effective as a tomb than as a grave.

There may have been a structure placed on the stage to represent tombs. A greater need for such a structure would lend strength to this possibility, but out of the extant repertory of the first Globe, there are only the two tombs mentioned that figure importantly in the action. In the final analysis, all one can say of the tomb in Titus Andronicus is that here is another place where an inner stage, or whatever served for it, might have been used to advantage, but where the need could have been met by other means.

Romeo and Juliet presents a different problem.

"The authorities are in dispute upon several points here, but only of detail. Juliet lies entombed in the inner stage. The tomb itself is the inner stage, closed in presumably by gates which Romeo breaks open, through the bars of which Paris casts his flowers."

So wrote Harley Granville-Barker in Prefaces to Shakespeare Second Series, p. 28.

Had there been bars through which "Paris casts his flowers," as Mr. Granville-Barker suggested, there was no need for Juliet to fear being "stifled in the vault" whose "foul mouth no healthful air breathes in," or "dying strangled." These descriptive phrases are not literal but dramatic, of course, and helped the spectator to visualize what was to come. On this basis I object to the gates Mr. Granville-Barker suggests, and to the bars. Surely any kind of barrier across the opening of the inner stage in the Globe would have made visibility from any part of the theatre, except the most immediate, difficult, and it does not seem likely that one of the most dramatic scenes of the

play would have been so obscured. In that none of the quartos of the play mentions curtains in connection with this scene, it seems legitimate to ask how it might have been staged at DeWitt's Swan, where there were none. There is no answer, of course, and while I hesitate to add another conjecture to those already existing, I feel that such a conjecture is legitimate here in that I am still attempting to answer the question of what the Chamberlain's-King's Men needed by way of basic stage and equipment while acting at the first Globe. The evidence which can be brought to bear on this question from the plays in the first Globe repertory indicates the importance of word and action and the unimportance of the physical stage. Staging was flexible throughout the period for many reasons, and the demands made on the audience's imagination heavy. The fact that a scene was highly dramatic would have been enough reason to present it in full view of the audience and therefore on the main stage. It seems as logical to place the tomb on this part of the stage as to place it as remote from the audience as possible. Might not the scene have been staged in the following manner:

In the second scene of Act V, the scene preceeding the "tomb" scene, Friar John tells Friar Lawrence that he has been unable to take or send Friar Lawrence's letter to Romeo telling of the pretended death of Juliet. Friar Lawrence's last words are to describe Juliet as "Poor living corpse, clos'd in a dead man's tomb." On this he exits with Friar John.

Through the other stage entrance two men enter carrying Juliet on a property bier which they place well down stage of the columns supporting the penthouse

roof. They are careful to seem to exit through a "door" half way between the columns and to seem to bar it after them. The space between the columns is now the wall of the tomb containing Juliet. The men exit through a stage door which has now become the entrance to the churchyard, or the point at which the audience catches or loses sight of characters entering or leaving the churchyard.

Paris and his page enter immediately. Paris leaves his flowers somewhere between the posts and this makes a more positive definition of the imaginary wall of the tomb. He might put a wreath at either side of the "door." When Romeo and Balthasar enter, Paris joins his page somewhere upstage where the boy has been lying with his ear on the stage listening for approaching steps. Balthasar retires. Romeo makes pantomime gestures of prying open a door at the place which has already been indicated to the audience. Paris comes toward him; they fight; Paris is killed and his body placed in the "tomb." Romeo drinks his poison, dies, and falls beside Juliet.

From this point on the rest of the scene could be played in and out of the "tomb" with the various characters and the crowd simply observing the boundary of the wall and door.

This down stage tomb would seem to be as plausible as the use of the inner stage, and as like the tomb described by the characters. The feature most fully described, the door, would need to be suggested in pantomime even if

"Detestable maw"

"Thus I enforce thy rotten jaws to open,"

"foul mouth, no healthful air breathes in."

the inner stage were used. Granville-Barker's gates would not have been any more "realistic."

The major objection to this staging is that there would be no plausible reason for removing the dead bodies from the stage at the conclusion of the play. In other tragedies provision is usually made for removing the bodies. On the other hand, we do not know that a play had to end with a cleared stage, nor is the absence of a specific "take them up" proof that they were not taken along when those present answered the command of Prince Escalus that they "Go hence to have more talk of these sad things."

How would the scene have been staged in a theatre which had an inner stage and used it fully? The curtains would have opened to reveal Juliet on a bier. Bars and a door might have been placed across the opening as Mr. Granville-Barker suggested. In any event the emphasis would have been shifted from death of the lovers to the minor characters in the down stage position.

We do not, and probably never shall, know what the conventions of the theatre were in regard to staging such scenes, but, in view of the existence of the Swan drawing, it does seem that we might try to visualize them staged in such a theatre and not assume that all such scenes had to be played in a box-like space that has come to be known as an "inner-stage."

Of the 43 extant plays which were probably produced by the Chamberlain's-King's Men while acting at the first Globe, three, possibly four, required some kind of curtained space other than a curtained

bed on the level of the main stage. If it was there for these three or four plays, one might reason that it was there for all. If the proportion were not so unbalanced--if the need were not so relatively insignificant--I might be inclined to agree; but as it is, I think that some kind of temporary structure could have been put on the stage for the scenes needing it.

As far as Thomas Lord Cromwell is concerned, had a curtain been temporarily hung over one of the stage entrances, the space so achieved would have served admirably. Although the plays offer no evidence of a curtain used in this way to make an inner curtained space, this play and possibly Satiromastix could have been staged that way.

If the first Globe plays were performed on a stage as simple as the Swan stage, an arras, a curtained stage door, or a portable structure of some kind would have been required, or, in some cases the audience's attitude toward the stage would have had to be different from that of later times, so that what we think of as an enclosed space could have been the very open space of the main stage. No more positive conclusion is possible, but at least the evidence of the first Globe plays does not necessarily belie the evidence of DeWitt.

PLAYS REQUIRING A CURTAIN, OR A
CURTAINED SPACE ON THE MAIN STAGE

"A" Plays	Feature Described	Suggested Staging
5 <u>Satiromastix</u>	Study	Curtained door or Main stage.
7 <u>Thomas Lord Cromwell</u>	Study	Curtained door or Temporary structure.
9 <u>The Merry Devil of Edmonton</u>	Chamber or Couch	Curtained bed.
20 <u>The Devil's Charter</u>	Study	Temporary structure.

"B" Plays

2 <u>Titus Andronicus</u>	Tomb	Temporary structure or Trap.
3 <u>Romeo and Juliet</u>	Tomb	Temporary structure or Main stage.

THE UPPER PLAYING SPACE

One of the controversial areas in any attempted reconstruction of an Elizabethan playhouse is the upper playing space. There can be no doubt but that some such space did exist. Its rudiments were present in Medieval pageant wagons and early street stages. Almost any group of Elizabethan plays would include specific stage directions involving action "above," or "aloft." The existing drawings of theatres of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods all show a gallery or double window on the second level of what corresponds to the tiring house facade: *Swan* (1596), a gallery; *Roxana* (1632) a gallery; *Messallina* (1640), a window.

Accepting that there was an upper stage, can the texts of the first Globe plays give any indication of its size, its height above the main stage, whether or not it was curtained, and what means of entrance and exit it had?

To the last two questions the plays give not even a clue, except perhaps, since there are never simultaneous entrances above, that one door would have been adequate. The fact that some entrances are given in the form of processions suggests an end door, or one at an end of the rear wall, with the length of the gallery ahead of an entering character, rather than a centre opening which would have necessitated movement in both directions. An example of this is in The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)
(Q 1607 - D₂)(I,ii)

"Alexander upon the walls in his pontificalls,
betwixt Caesar Borgia and Caraffa Cardinalls,
before him the Duke of Candie bearing a sword
after them Picolamini Gasper de Foiss."

Except for occasional implications of that kind, characters appear and disappear "above" without any further qualifying phrase in the text or stage directions. The space is never described except dramatically, in a phrase like "on the battlements," nor is it used for scenes suggesting disclosures, which imply the use of curtains.

The upper stage seldom represents an interior, and even when it is spoken of as such it is difficult to enclose the action logically in four walls. An excellent example of this is in The Miseries of Enforced Marriage (37, A 19)(Q 1607 - G₂)(IV -). The whole scene is unusually loosely localized, even for the Elizabethan period. Butler, a servant of the Scarborows had seemed to plot with three men-about-town, Ilford, Wentloe, and Bartley, to marry them to wealthy women. His real purpose is to marry Ilford to the Scarborows' sister, who is penniless. Her brothers, John and Thomas, are to assist by posing as her uncles. Butler has arranged with the three gulls to meet him at Scarborow's house, which he had described but not identified. Ilford has gone first, having been given the information separately. When Wentloe and Bartley leave at the end of the plotting, the scene shifts to the Scarborows' house without Butler's leaving the stage. The shift is indicated by the entry of John and Thomas Scarborow. The scene continues:

"Tho. Butler. But. O, are you come,
And fit as I appointed: so, 'tis wel,
You knowe your kues, and haue instructions
Howe to beare yourselues: Exit.

John. What shal I terme this creature not a man,
Betwixt this Butler leaas Ilford in
Hees not of mortals temper, but hees one
Made all of goodnes

Enter Butler, and Ilfords above.
But. God's preciour, Sir, the hel Sir, euen as you had
new kist, and were about to court her, if her Vncles
be not come.

Ilf. A plague on thee, spit out.

But. But tis no matter Sir, stay you heere in this vpper
chamber, & Ile stay beneath with her, tis ten to one
you ~~shal~~ hear them talke now of the greatnes of her
possessions,"

After some more dialogue along the same lines Butler exits
and Ilford listens to John and Thomas Scarborough who commence
talking below:

"Tho. As we were saying Brother,
Where shal we find a husband for my Neece.

Ilf. Marry she shal find one heere tho you little knowt.
Thanks, thankes, honest Butler.

Io. She is left rich in Money, Plate and Iewels.

Ilf. Comfort, comfort to my saule.

Tho. Hath all her manner houses richly furnished.

Ilf. Good, good, Ile find imployment for them.

But. with. Speake loud enough that he may heare you.

Io. I take her state to be about a thousand pound a yeare."

The conversation continues in the same vein, with unheard
comment from Ilford above, for about ten lines. Then John
and Thomas exit and Butler returns to Ilford above.

Scarborow's sister joins them. As they are talking:
"Enter Wentloe, and Bartley beneath.

Bar. Hereabout is the house, sure.

Wentlo. We cannot mistake it, for heres the signe of the
Wolfe and the Bay-window.

. . . .
...Butler aboue

But. What so close? Tis well, I haue shifted away your
Vncles Mistris,

Ilf. A poxe on em, what shall we do then Butler?

But. What but be married straight man.
 Ilf. Where, I prethe Butler where?
 But. Where? But beneath in her Chamber.
 Ilf. O sweete. Exit Ilford with his sister.
 Went. Sfut, it is scuruy Walking, for us so near the
 two Counters; would he would come once?
 Bar. Masse hees yonder: Now Butler.
 But. O Gallants are you here? . . . meet me beneath.
 both Happy Butler.
 But. . . .
 By this they are wed, and perhaps haue bedded. Exit
 Now followes whether, knowing shee is poore, wen &
 Heele swear he loued her as he swore before. bax.
Exit Butler."

This scene illustrates several conventions of Elizabethan staging, especially the vague localization of "setting". The main stage represents two exteriors without clearing. I believe that the Elizabethan audience, being unaccustomed to any literal dependence upon the physical stage, depended upon the dialogue for any scene setting which the action required. As a custom it must have had its advantages. Very few stage designers can evoke what the mind can in answer to the question "Barkloughly castle call they this at hand?" and in the scene just quoted, speed in getting on with the action compensates for detailed portrayal of the physical aspect of the Scarborough house.

Another convention which the scene illustrates is the use of "asides". Here Ilford, above, is on the opposite side of John and Thomas Scarborough from the audience, but his humorous remarks are, nevertheless, called across to the audience and unheard by the other characters.

The scene is quoted here in some detail primarily to illustrate the flexible and unrealistic way in which the upper stage was used as an interior. Its action is simultaneously dependent upon the main stage action, and separated from it. Neither in time nor in spacial relationship is lateral interpretation possible.

Another example of a vaguely defined interior above is in Titus Andronicus (2, B 2)(Q 1611 - A2)(I, 1). The play opens with the stage direction:

"Enter Tribunes and Senatours aloft: and then enter Saturnius and his followers at one doore and Bassianus and his followers with Drums and Trumpets."

At the end of the first part of the scene Saturnius and Bassianus "go up into the Senate-house." Since they take part in the later action, the direction may be taken to mean that they go to the upper stage. Here again the use of the words "Senate-house" is vague. The action above, in this case, is closely linked with that on the main stage which represents vaguely a public square in Rome, and is more logically imagined on some sort of porch or gallery, from which the characters can speak to those below.

A balcony or window from which a single person may make rather brief contact with the main stage action is the most common use of the upper stage. Examples are numerous:

The Merchant of Venice (6, B 6)(Q 1600 - D2)(II,v)

"Lor.(enzo) Here dwells my father Iew. Howe
whose within?

Iessica aboue.

Iess. who are you? tell me for certainty,
Albeit Ile sweare that I doe know your tongue.

Lor. Lorenzo and thy loue.

Ies. Heere catch this casket, it is worth the paines,
I am glad tis night you doe not looke on me,
for I am much ashamde of my exchange:
But loue is blinde, and louers cannot see
The pretty follies that themselves commit,
for if they could Cupid himself would blush
to see me thus transformed to a boy.

Lor. Descend, for you must be my torch-bearer.

Ies. What, must I hold a candle to my shames,
I will make fast the doores & guild my selfe
with some more ducats, and be with you straight."

(7 lines for her descent, then, "Enter Iessica.")

Romeo and Juliet (3, B 3)(Q4 - undated - C4v)(II,ii)

"Romeo. He iests at scarres that neuer felt a wound.
But soft, what light through yonder window breakes?
It is the east, and Iuliet is the sun."

There is no stage direction in either quartos or folio,
but from the text it is clear that Juliet has appeared
above at a "window." She remains above throughout the
scene.

Every Man Out of his Humor (13, A 2)(Q 1600 - E3)(II,i)

"Enter Funtarvalo, followed by his Huntsman leading a
greyhound.

Punt. Forrester, giue wind to thy Horne. Inough; by
this the sound hath toucht the ears of the
enclosed;

. . . .
Sog.(liardo) Ah, peace, now aboue, now aboue.

The waiting Gentlewoman appeares at the window.

Funt. Stay, mine eye hath (on the instant) through the
bountie of the window, receiued the forme of a
Nymph Sweet Ladie, God saue you.

Gent. No forsooth; I am but the waiting-gentlewoman.

Car.(lo) He knew that before.

. . . .

Punt. What call you the Lord of the castle, sweet Face?

Gent. The Lord of the castle is a knight sir; Signior Puntarvolo.

. . . .

Funt. doth the castle containe him?

Gent. No, Sir, he is from home, but his Lady is within.

Punt. Pr'y, deare Nymph, intreat her beauties to shine on this side of the building.

Exit Gent. from the window.

. . . .

Sordido and Fungoso withdraw at the other part of the stage, meane time the Ladie is come to the window.

Punt. What more than heauenly pulchritude is this, . . . I am a poore Knight-errant, Ladie, that hunting in the adiacent forrest, was by aduenture, in the pursuit of a Hart, brought to this place; . . . my suit is to enter your faire Castle and refresh me.

Ladie. Sir Knight, albeit it is not vsual with me (chiefly in the absence of a husband) to admit any entrance to strangers, yet . . . I am resolved to entertaine you. . . Please you but stay, while I descend."

There are about 20 lines of dialogue to cover her descent.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. (16, A 4) (F 1623 - C 56) (IV, v)

Simple calls at the Garter Inn and asks for Falstaff:

"Host. Ther's his Chamber, His House, his Castle, his standing-bed, and truckle-bed; . . .

Simple. There's an olde woman, a fat woman, gone vp into his chamber; Ile be so bold as stay, Sir, till she come downe I come to speak with her indeed.

Host. Ha? a fat woman? the Knight may be robb'd: Ile call. Bully knight! Bully Sir Iohn! speake from thy Lungs Military: art thou there? It is thine Host, thine Ephesian calls.

Falstaff. How now mine host?

Host. Here is a Bohemian-Tarter tarries the coming downe of thy fat woman. Let her descend (Bully) let her descend, my chambers are honorable: fie, priuacy? fie.

Falstaff. There was (mine Host) an old-fat-woman
euen now with me, but she's gone."

(Q 1602 - F_{3v}) has "Enter Sir Iohn" here.)

When Simple is satisfied about the woman, he leaves.
The scene continues with other characters looking in
and talking with the host. Falstaff comments on the
action, but is not part of it. Eventually everyone
exits and Mistress Quickly comes in. The scene con-
tinues and eventually concludes:

"Quickly. Sir: let me speake with you in your Chamber,
you shall heare how things goe, and (I
warrant) to your content:

Falstaff. Come vp into my chamber."

(Q 1602 has "Come go with me into my chamber.")

It seems possible that the staging in the quarto of
1602 was an adaptation for Court performance where
there was no balcony; or, if the play was first
written (as Mr. Leslie Hotson postulates in
Shakespeare vs Shallow) for the ceremonies attend-
ant upon the awarding of the Garter, or for perform-
ance in a private hall, that it was originally
written to be acted on a simple platform, and the
scene just quoted was moved to the upper stage for
subsequent public performance.

Othello (29, C 6)(Q 1622 - B₂)(I,1)

"Rod. (erigo) Here is her fathers house; Ile call aloud

What ho: Brabantio, Seignior Barbantio, ho.

Brabantio at a window

Bra. What is the reason of this terrible summons."

The Folio (F 310) has simply "Bra. aboue." at the
beginning of his speech. He descends later in the
scene, with 16 lines to cover his coming down.

The Malcontent (26, A 11)(Q 1604 - augmented edition - A)
(I,ii)

"Ferrar.(do) Malevole!

Male. Out of his chamber"(in fine print at end of line)
"Yaugh, godaman, what dost thou there: . . .
Thou lambe a court: what doost thou bleat for? a
you smooth chind catamite!

Peitro. Come downe thou ragged cur, and snarl heere,
I giue thy dogged sulleness free libertie:
trot about and be-spurtle whom thou pleasest.

Mal. I'll come among you, you goatish toderers, as
gum into taffeta, to fret to fret . . Exit aboue."

18 lines and a song intervene before he enters below.

Volpone (34, A 16)(F 1616 - Rr2) (p.471)(II,ii)

In this scene Volpone, who is posing as a
mountebank, says:

". . .Therefore,now tosse your handkerchiefes,cheare-
fully, chearefully; and be aduertised, that the
first heroique spirit, that deignes to grace me,
with a handkerchiefe, I will giue it a little
remembrance of something, beside, shall please
it better, then if I had presented it with a
double pistolet.

Per.(egrine) Will you be that heroique sparke, sir
Pol?

Celia at the
O, see! the windore has preuented you. windo' thro's
downe her
handkerchiefe"

There is no stage direction in the quarto of 1607, but
that interpolated in the Folio is implied by the words
of Peregrine and Volpone.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q 1607 - E2v)(II, i)

"Alexander out of a casement.

. . . .
Astor Manfredi turne thee to my love,
Come hither Astor we must talk aboue."

The other common use of the upper playing space is to
represent the walls of a castle or town. Here, again,
there are numerous examples:

Richard III (I, B 1)(Q 1602 - G4)(III,vii)

The Duke of Buckingham has influenced the Lord
Mayor and some of the people to the point of
offering Richard, Duke of Gloster, the crown.
They are on their way to Baynard's Castle,
where Buckingham is talking alone with Richard.

"Buc. The maior is heere: and intend some feare,
Be not spoken withall, but with mightie suit,
And looke you get a prayer booke in your hand,
And stand betwixt two Church-men good my Lord;
For on that ground Ile build a holy Descant:
And be not easily wonne to our request;
Play the maydes part, say no, but take it.

Glo. I go; and if you plead as well for them
As I can say nay to thee for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

Buc. You shall see what I can do, get you up to
the leads. Exit.

Enter the Maior, and Citizens.
Now my Lord Maior: I dance attendance here;
I think the Duke will not be spoken withall. Enter
Catesby.

Here comes his seruant: How now Catesby
what says he.

Cat. My Lord he doth entreat your Grace
To visit him to morrow or next day:"

Catesby is sent to beg audience with Richard three times.
Then:

"Enter Rich. and two Bishops aloft."

He remains aloft for the rest of the scene, finally
accepting the crown and the coronation the next day,
and saying to the bishops:

"Come, let vs to our holy taske againe.
Farewell, good Cousin; farewell gentle friends."

Richard II (5, B 5)(Q 1608 - F₄)(III,iii)

Bolingbroke, York, Northumberland, and their forces
are before the Welsh castle where King Richard has
sought sanctuary. The scene is one of the best in
these plays in its dramatic use of the upper space,
in that the space relationship is so beautifully
incorporated into the lines and meaning.

"The Trumpet sound, Richard appeareth on the walles."

The Folio of 1623 has "Parle without, and answere
within: Then a Flourish. Enter on the Walls, Richard,
Carlisle, Aumerle, Scroop, Salisbury."

"Bul. See see, King Richard doth himselfe appeare
As doth the blushing discontented Sunne
From out the fiery portall of the East,
When he perceiues the enuious cloudes are bent

To dimme his glory, and to staine the tracke
Of his bright passage to the occident.

Yorke. Yet lookes he like a King: behold his eye
As bright as is the eagles lightens foorth
Controlling Maiestie: Alacke, for woe
That any harme should staine so faire a shew.

King. We are amazd; and this long haue we stood
To watch the feareful bending of thy knee
Because we thought our selfe thy lawful King:
And if we be, how dare thy ioynts forget
To pay their aweful duty to our presence?

. . . .
. . . .

King.
What sayes King Bullingbrooke? will his Maiestie
Giue Richard leaue to liue till Richard die?
You make a legge, and Bullingbrooke says I.

North. My Lord, in the base court he doth attend
To speake with you; may it please you to come downe.

King. Downe, downe I come, like glistering Phaethon
Wanting the manage of vnruely Iades.
In the base court, Base court where Kings grow base
To come at traytors calls, and do them grace.
In the base court come down: Downe court. Downe King.
For night-owles shreeke where mounting larks should
sing.

Bull. What sayes his maiestie?

North. Sorrow and griefe of heart
Make him speak fondly, like a franticke man;
Yet he is come.

Bull. Stand all apart,
And shew faire duety to his Maiestie: He kneeles downe.
My gracious Lord."

There is no stage direction to mark Richard's exit above in any of the texts, but he obviously descends after his "Downe, downe I come," and must have made good time on the stairs to make a dignified entrance on Northumberland's "Yet he is come." Probably some time would be taken by Bullingbrooke crossing to a place nearer the tiring house and Northumberland before he speakes, but the dramatic impact of "he is come" seems to demand the presence of the king.

Timon of Athens (41, C 10)(F 1623 - T 97)(V,iv)

In the final scene Alcibiades, with his powers is before the wall of Athens.

"Alc.Sound to this Coward and lasciuious Towne
Our terrible approach.

Sounds a Parly.

The Senators appeare vpon the wals."

They talk, and some 50 lines later:

"1. Set but thy foot
 Against our rampye'd gates, and they shall ope;
 So thou wilt send thy gentle heart before,
 To say thou't enter Friendly.

2. Throw thy gloue
Or any token of thine Honour els,
That thou wilt vse the warres as thy redresse,
And not as our Confusion: all thy Powers
Shall make their Harbour in our towne till we
Haue seal'd thy full desire.

Alc. Then there's my Gloue;
Descend, and open your vncharged Ports:
Those enemies of Timons and mine owne
Whom you yourselues shall set out for reproofe
Fall and no more:

Both. Tis most Nobly spoken

Alc. Descend and keep your words.

Enter a Messenger.

Mes. My Noble Generall, Timon is dead
Entomb'd vpon the very hemme o'th Sea,
And on his Grauestone, the Insculpture which
With wax I brought away:"

Alcibiades reads the Epitaph, and says, Finally:

" Dead
Is noble Timon, of whose Memorie
Heerafter more. Bring me into your Citie,
And I will vse the Oliue, with my sword:
Make war breed peace; make peace stint war, make each
Prescribe to other, as each others Leach.
Let our Drummes strike. Exeunt."

The play ends here. The scene is a good example of the difficulty that attends most attempts to reconstruct the Elizabethan stage and stage-craft from the plays. Neither the directions nor the dialogue here make it clear whether the senators left the walls or were interrupted by the messenger and only leave as the play ends to receive Alcibiades as he is admitted into the city by the opening of a stage door for his final exit.

Coriolanus (39, C 8)(F 1623 - T 5)(I, iv)

"Mar.(tius) Then shall we heare their Larum, &
Come blow thy blast. ^{they} Ours.
They sound a parley: Enter two Senators
with others on the walls of Corialus.
Tullus Auffidious, is he within your Walles?

1. Senat. No, nor a man that feares you lesse then he,
That's lesser then a little
Harke, our Drummes
Are bringing forth our youth: Wee'l breake
our Walles
Rather then they shall pound vs vp our Gates,
Which yet seeme shut, we haue but pin'd with
Rushes,
They'le open of themselues. Hark you, farre off.
Alarum farre off.
There is Auffidious. List what worke he makes
Among'st your clouen Army.

Mart. Oh they are at it.

Lart.(tius) Their noise be our instruction.
Ladders Hoa.

Enter the army of the Volces"

The entrance of the army results in skirmishes on the main stage, in and out of the doors which represent the boundary of the Roman trenches and the gates of Coriolus. The gates of Coriolus in this scene are one of the controversial points in discussions of staging requirements. Many scholars hold that a stage door is inadequate for the action, and postulate gates across the inner stage opening. I believe that a door such as that pictured in the Swan drawing would have been inadequate. I will discuss this at greater length in the section on Stage Entrances.

There is no indication of when the Senators leave the upper stage. Presumably they run for shelter when the skirmish starts.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20) (Q 1607)

There are several scenes in this play which use the upper area as walls. They are notable for two reasons. First, they suggest more people above than any other play, and second, they describe more action above. Richard II mentions five characters on the upper stage, and four or five are likely in the Monument scene in Anthony and Cleopatra when Cleopatra and her women raise the dying Anthony. The scene already mentioned in The Devil's Charter (D₂) records six, and IV, iv, (H₃) requires nine, if plurals like "souldiers" are counted at their minimum two.

"Bar. Shall we salute her with our Cannon.

Caes.(ar) What? no Barbarossa not without a parlee

. . . .

Summon a parlee.

Sound drum answer trumpet.

Enter upon the walles Countesse Katherine, Iulio Sforza, Ensigne, souldiers, Drummes, Trumpets."

Some hundred lines later the action is described:

"A charge with a peale of Ordinance: Caesar after two retreates entreth by scalado, her Ensigne bearer slaine: Katherin recouereth the Ensigne, & fighteth with it in her hand. Heere she sheweth excellent Magnanimity, Caesar the third time repulsed, at length entreth by scalado, surpriseth her, bringeth her downe with some prisoners. Sound Drums and Trumpets."

This is certainly a more elaborate action than any described in the other plays in this group. There are indications in An Alarum for London that stage business was not always reduced to the minimum implied by the meager stage directions, but no other action, completely unaccompanied by text, is as complex as this. A more likely skirmish is described in The Devil's Charter, II, i (D_{3v}).

"Sound drummes and trumpets: Alexander with his companie of the walles, orainance goeing of (after a little skirmish within) hee summons from the Castell with a trumpet; answere to it below; Enter Alexander upon the walls as before."

In this play the direction (scene vi, line 796):

"A company of rascall Soldiers came heere pursuing the Ladie, he fights and beares her away from them all."

suggests a "bad quarto" in which a description of a remembered action is substituted for a forgotten portion

of text. The same is true to an even greater degree of the direction (scene iii, line 501)

"As he is going out Stumpe encounters him."

In this instance Stumpe has not been in the preceding scene, nor is he in the one that follows. It would surely have been very difficult to have given dramatic meaning to his "encounter" during an exit without the aid of any text.

In either scene, however, the upper playing space required must have been a sizable gallery.

Several possible upper stage scenes involve questions of one kind or another, and are, therefore, treated separately.

Romeo and Juliet (3, B 3)(Q₁ 1597 & 1599)(III,v)

Both of the quartos cited start this scene with the entrance of Romeo and Juliet above. Q₁(G_{2v}) has "at the window;" Q₂(H_{2v}) has simply "aloft."

Q₁, one of the very "bad" quartos textually, seems in the early part of this scene, and certainly in the stage directions throughout, superior to Q₂. A parallel text of Romeo's departure and the beginning of the next action is appended to this section, by way of illustration. (pp. 98 - 99)

The interesting point is that Q₁'s direction, "She goeth down from the window," suggests that Juliet leaves the upper stage at this point. The entrance of her mother and nurse, and their calling for her give her time to descend, and the rest of the scene, which is laid within her chamber and not outside the house looking at her window, would be played on the main stage.

In Q₂ the directions indicate that Lady Capulet comes on to the upper stage and there is no indication that she and Juliet descend before the entrance of Capulet and the nurse later in the scene. This would leave a long chamber scene on the upper stage. It is the only time, in all of the 43 plays, that the upper stage seems to have been used by itself. In all other instances it is used in conjunction with the lower stage, and usually to extend an action which originates below. It is interesting to speculate whether the change reflected a larger playing space above, in the new theatre of 1599, or is just a printing vagary. On the basis of common practice, as evidenced by the stage directions of other upper stage scenes, I am inclined to believe Q₂ corrupt at this point, but it was the text chosen by the editors of the Folio, and the question cannot be answered by subjective opinion.

An Alarum for London (15, A 3) (Q 1602 - B, B_{1v}, B₂, B_{2v})

Danila, the Spanish Governor and his Gunner fire
upon Antwerp.

A great Screeke heard within
Enter two Burgers running

2. Bur. Call to the Governour.

1. Bur. Hee's walking heere without the Castle: stay,
The Cittizens haue sent me to demaund
On what occasion, or by whose commandment,
You haue descharg'd this shot vpon the towne?"

Danila, whose presence or appearance seems to have
occasioned the word "stay," answers the Burgers, and
does not leave the stage before:

"A signet sounded, enter two with mounning pecons:
a Drum sounding a dead march: Dalua carried upon
a horse covered with blacke: Soldiers after:
trayling their Pykes."

and, later:

"Alu. (Dalua) Set downe and let me light,
He comes from vnder the hearse,
I would not heare my selfe againe so rayl'd on,
. . . .
Whose that aboue? Lord Sancto Danila?"

Dan. My Lord of Alua, enter the Castle.
Alua enters and his troope. "

Other troops which Danila has been expecting to re-
inforce his power come and are allowed to enter the
castle. One of them asks "who is there?" just as
Dalva had asked "whose that aboue?" The distance
which separates Danila from the questioners, and
especially Dalva's use of "above" suggest that
Danila is on the upper stage. "Walking heere with-
out the Castle" suggests the main stage where the
Burgers are, but presumably can be taken to mean
on the battlements or outer walls of the castle.

Titus Andronicus (2, B 2) (F 1623 - T 49) (V, ii)

"Tamora and her two sons enter disguised

Tam. Thus in this strange and sad Habilliament
I will encounter with Andronicus
And say I am Reuenge, sent from below
To ioyne with him and right his hainous wrongs.
Knocke at his study, where they say he keepes
To ruminat strange plots of dire Reuenge:

They knocke and Titus opens his study dore.

Titus. Who doth mollest my Contemplation?
 Is it your tricke to make me ope the dore
 That so my sad decrees may flie away,
 And all my studie be to no effect?

. . . .

. . . .
 Tam.
 I am Reuenge sent from th' infernall Kingdome

 Come downe and welcome me to this worlds light.

Tit. Art thou Reuenge? and art thou sent to me
 To be a torment to mine Enemies?

Tam. I am, therefore come downe and welcome me."

This scene is confusing as it stands, and it seems possible that the text as we have it represents two imperfectly co-ordinated versions. The stage direction suggests that Titus opens the door on which Tamora or her sons have knocked. The words "come down," repeated twice, suggests that Titus answers from above. The rest of the scene makes either possible. The stage direction may come from an earlier version of the play belonging to the period before 1594 when the company had no permanent home and possibly no upper playing space, and the text from a later version whose action differed from that suggested by the stage direction which survives.

Troilus and Cressida (22, A 8)(Q 1609 - A3v)(I,ii)

* Pan. (darus) Harke they are comming from the field:
 shall we stand vp here and see them as they passe
 toward Ilion? good Neece do, sweet Neece Cresseida.

Cress. At your pleasure.

Pan. Heere, here, here's an excellent place; here
 wee may see most brauely: Ile tell you them
 all by their names as they passe by; but marke
 Troylus aboue the rest.

Cress. Speak not so lowde.

Pan. That's Aeneas: is not that a braue man?
 That's Antenor: he has a shrow'd wit, "
 etc.

This action would adapt itself to the upper stage very well, with the various warriors passing beneath. The scene opened with Cressida asking her man about someone who had just passed, as if she were in some

place overlooking a public road. But the action just described follows conversations between Cressida and her man, and later Pandarus of some 120 lines. When compared with other examples from the extant repertory of the first Globe, this seems an unusually long passage with which to open a scene on the upper stage without action below.

Julius Caesar (12, C 1)(F 1623 - T 121)(III, ii)

Another controversial scene is that of Caesar's funeral oration. The stage direction is "Enter Brutus and goes into the Pulpit," Was the pulpit a separate property in the nature of a formal seat as Reynolds (p.56) believes, or was it the upper playing space? If the upper space was only seven or eight feet above the main stage, then I do not feel, as Reynolds does, that a player on the balcony would have been removed ineffectively from his audience. Actually he would have been but little more removed than the regular actors were from those standing in the pit. While the crowd in the scene discusses which speaker they will hear, Brutus has time to reach the upper space. There is some shifting and dividing of the crowd to help cover his ascent. After Brutus has left the scene, Antony's ascent is "covered" in exactly the same manner, the crowd conversing until he appears above. His descent, after having asked leave, is again covered by the discussion of the crowd. A formal seat could have been used--it is called the "Publicke Chaire"--but why not the upper space?

In the same play (F 128)(V, iii) Pindarus enters to Cassius on the main stage.

"Cassi. Go Pindarus, get higher on that hill,
My sight was euer thicke, regard Titinius,
And tell me what thou not'st about the Field.
This day I breathed first, Time is come round,
And where I did begin, there shall I end,
My life is run his compasse. Sirra, what newes?

Pind. Aboue. O my Lord.

Cassi. What newes?

Pind. Titinius is enclosed round about
With Horsemen, that make to him on the Spurre,
Yet he spurres on. Now they are almost on him:
Now Titinius. Now some light: O he lights too.
Hee's tane.

Showt.

And hearke, they shout for ioy.

Cassi. Come downe, behold no more:
O Coward that I am, to liue so long,
To see my best Friend tane before my face.

Enter Pindarus.

Come hither sirrah:"

This scene is unique among those in first Globe plays, in its use of the upper stage as a natural elevation--a hill.

The height of the upper playing space depends largely on the conjectured height of the platform, since it is probable that, even if the tiring house was an integral part of the stage and, like it, was built within the auditorium frame, the floor level of the upper playing space and the tiring house behind it coincided with that of the second gallery. I do not think that this similarity of floor levels is a difficult assumption to make, for without it entrances and exits would have been unnecessarily difficult. If, then, the platform level is raised to five and a half feet, as postulated in the section on "The Theatre and Stage," the height of the upper stage would be greatly reduced from that of some previous computations which estimate a height of twelve or thirteen feet. Such a reduction would make it less remote and in better dramatic relation to the stage proper.

The floor level of the second gallery in the Fortune was thirteen feet above the ground--i. e. one foot foundation and twelve feet for the first floor gallery. Using five and a half feet for the elevation of the platform would make the upper stage seven and a half feet above the main stage. As has been mentioned before, this would make the relationship between an actor above and one on the stage not too different from the usual one of actor on a five and a half foot stage and his audience; and the

Some special adjustment would have been necessary on the main stage level. In Shakespeare and the Players, C. Walter Hodges indicates (in the diagram on pp.62-3) a porchlike continuation of the stage and tiring house floor level into the auditorium frame. I have kept this suggestion in my own diagrams. The plays, again, do not offer evidence to support any conclusion.

audience could take in action on both levels simultaneously, without constantly looking up and down.

In the plays there is no indication of the height of the upper playing space, except perhaps that "4. or 5. of the Guard of Anthony" could "heave Anthony aloft to Cleopatra." (F 1623 - T 363) I cannot believe that mechanical assistance was required. It would detract from the wonderful urgency and striving of the lines:

"Cleo. . . . but come, come Anthony,
Helpe me my women, we must draw thee vp:
Assist good Friends.

Ant. Oh quicke, or I am gone.

Cleo. Heere's sport indeede:
How heauy weighs my Lord?
Our strength is all gone into heauinesse,
That makes the waight. Had I great Iuno's power
The strong wing'd Mercury should fetch thee vp,
And set thee by Ioues side. Yet come a little,
Wishers were euer Fooles. Oh come, come, come,
They heave Anthony aloft to Cleopatra.
And welcome, welcome. Dye when thou hast liu'd,
Quicken with Kissing: had my lippes that power,
Thus would I weare them out.

All. A heauy sight."

Also, in the passage from The Devil's Charter in which Alexander, who is above on the walls talking to King Charles of France and his followers below, says (Q 1607 - D₄)

"
....
Come take Saint Peters Chaire proud heretics;
Here take this triple Crowne, oh you would take it,
But he, that made it, did not for you make it.
Ascanio thou wouldst haue these Golden Keies;
Here take them with a vengeance on thy head,
He throws his keies."

. . . .
the line "Here take this triple crown, oh you would take it" possibly suggests that the crown is almost within reach of the men below.

By way of summary, the following 17 of the 43 plays in the extant first Globe repertory have action above:

"A" Plays	Feature
2 Every Man Out of his Humor	"Window"
3 An Alarum for London	Walls ? "above"
4 Merry Wives of Windsor	Window ? "chamber"
8 Troilus and Cressida	Window ? Gallery ?
11 The Malcontent	Window ? "chamber"
16 Volpone	"Window"
19 The Miseries of Enforced Marriage	"Chamber"
20 The Devil's Charter	"Walls" and "Casement"
 "B" Plays	
1 Richard III	Walls ? "leads"&"aloft"
2 Titus Andronicus	"Senate house"
3 Romeo and Juliet	"Window" possibly "chamber" Q ₂
5 Richard II	"Walls"
6 The Merchant of Venice	Window ? "above"
 "C" Plays	
1 Julius Caesar	"Pulpit" "hill"
6 Othello	"Window"
8 Coriolanus	"Walls"
10 Timon of Athens	"Walls"

Reference to the list above will show five direct references to the upper stage using the word "window." There are three references to "chamber" and one simple "above" which can probably be interpreted dramatically as meaning windows. There are four direct quotations using the word "walls." One "above" and one "aloft" can probably be interpreted as walls. In all these cases the required action could have been performed from a gallery like that of the Swan.

There are three references to the upper space as a chamber, but only in Romeo and Juliet may it have been used for an interior scene. The Merry Wives of Windsor and The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, although calling it an upper chamber, use it as a window.

Of course all of the characters in the window scenes are supposedly inside, looking, or leaning, out.

The possible use of the upper space as the "pulpit" in Julius Caesar would be the only instance of such use, and may be an argument against it, just as its use in the same play as a hill may be questioned.

The reference in Othello:(29, C 6)(F 1623 - T 316)(II, i)

"Mon.(tano) What from the Cape can you discern at sea?" may be to the upper stage as a natural location. This might be the question asked of a man who is known to have returned from the cape, but if the answer is thought to be based on direct evidence, the cape must be an elevated space, otherwise Montano, the questioner, would look at the sea himself. Since a few lines later news is brought that a ship had put into port, it is strange that a man who is at that moment viewing the harbor has not seen it. This seems to point to Montano's questioning someone who has come from the cape; and the upper stage is not involved.

Of the size of the upper stage we have a more objective idea based on negative reasoning. It would have needed to be large enough to hold a minimum of so many players, because one scene actually mentions that many. It might have been larger, but it could not have been smaller. The Folio of Richard II mentions five characters on the walls: Richard, Carlisle, Aumerle, Scroop, and Salisbury. (H 36) The Devil's Charter (Q 1607) mentions six:(D₂) Alexander, Caesar Borgia, Caraffa, the Duke of Candie, Ficolomini, and Gasper de Foies; and (H₃) possibly nine: Katherine, Iulio Sforza, Ensigne, souldiers, Drummes, Trumpets. Drums and Trumpets may indicate sounds and not characters,

but the action described suggests that Caesar "entreth" and possibly there must have been room for some of his followers to enter the gallery with him. At all events, the evidence of the plays suggests that from six to nine characters must have been able to move freely about in the gallery.

The height of the space above the main stage is discussed in this section, and in a following section dealing with J.C. Adams' estimate of its height. Again, direct evidence from the plays is lacking.

Are there any positive conclusions to be reached, except that there was an upper space at the Globe? It seems that we return to the same answer--as far as the upper playing area needs, at least, there is still no reason to think that the first Globe was much different from the Swan as pictured by DeWitt.

The Swan drawing would indicate that the gallery was used for seating spectators. If there was a similar arrangement in the first Globe, the question as to what happened if the gallery was used for the action of the plays is unanswerable. If spectators sat on the main stage during a performance, then why could they not have sat in the balcony? There is nothing to indicate that they did sit on the stage of the first Globe, up to 1609, at least. In fact, the only reference to spectators on the stage rather indicates that they did not stay seated on it during a performance. This reference is from the Induction to The Malcontent (26, A 11) William Sly enters followed by a Tire-man.

"Tire-man. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit
here.

Sly. Why, we may sit upon the stage at the priuate house.
 Thou dost not take me for a country gentleman, dost?
 Dost think I fear hissing? "

and later

"Lowin. Good sir, will you leaue the stage? Ile help you
 to a priuate room."

This could be interpreted as meaning that spectators sat on the stage of a private theatre but did not do so in a public one, or not in the first Globe, at least. Perhaps they sat there while the theatre was filling or even during the speaking of the prologue, but then retired to one of the Lords' rooms? In this induction scene, Sly leaves just before Act I begins.

None of this digression throws any light on whether or not spectators sat in the gallery. If the upper space had the close relationship with the main stage that I have emphasized believing that it had, then perhaps the same rule of conduct governed both areas.

If it was common practice to use the gallery for spectators, perhaps they were refused admission during certain plays in which the upper space figured importantly, and for which a great deal of space was needed.

With or without spectators, the tiring house gallery as pictured by DeWitt would have served adequately for staging all the extant first Globe plays.

AFFENDIX

Q 1597

ROMEO AND JULIET - III. v

Q 1599

Jul: So now be gone, more light and
light it growes.

Iu. O now be gone, more light
and light it grows.

Rom: More light and light, more
darke and darke our woes.

Romeo. More light and light,
more darke and darke
our woes.

Enter Madame and Nurse.

Nur. Madame.

Iu. Nurse.

Nur. Your Lady Mother is
cūming to your chāber.
The day is broke, be
wary, looke about.

Iuli. Then window let day in
and let life out.

Farewell my loue, one kisse
and Ile descend.

Ro. Farewell, farewell, one
kisse and Ile descend.

Jul: Art thou gone so soon, my Lord,
my Loue, my Friend?

Iu. Art thou gone so loue, Lord
ay Husband, friend.

I must heare from thee euerie
day in the hower:

I must heare from thee
euerie day in the houre,

For in an hour there are many minutes.

Minutes are days so I will number them:

Oh, by this count I shall be much
in yeares

Ere I see thee againe.

For in a minute there are
many days,

O, by this count I shall be
much in yeares,

Ere I againe behold my
Romeo.

Rom: Farewell, I will omit no opportunitie That may conueigh my greetings loue to thee.

R0m. Farewell:
I will omit no opportunitie
That may conuey my greetings
loue to thee.

Iul: Oh, thinkst thou we shall euer
meete againe?

Iu. O thinkst thou we shall
euer meete againe?

Rom: No doubt, no doubt, and all this
woe shall serue
For sweete discourses in the
time to come.

Rom. I doubt it not, and all
these woes shall serue
For sweet discourses in
our time to come.

Iul: Oh God, I haue an ill diuining
soule.
Me thinkes I see thee now thou
are below,
Like one dead in the bottome of
the Tombe.

Ro. Oh God, I haue an ill
diuining soule. Me thinkes
I see thee now thou art so
low As one dead in the
bottom of the Tombe.

APPENDIX

Q 1597

ROMEO AND JULIET - III, v

Q 1599

Iul. Either mine ey-sight failes,
or thou lookst pale.

Ro. Either mine eie-sight failes,
or thou lookst pale.

Rom: And trust my Loue, in my eye
so doo you.
Drie sorroe drinkes our blood:
Adieu, adieu. Exit.

Rom. And trust me loue in my eye
so doo you.
Drie sorrow drinkes our bloud.
Adué, adue. Exit.

Nur: Madame beware, take heed, the
day is broke,
Your Mother's comming to your
Chamber, make all sure.

She goeth down from the window.

Enter Iuliets Mother, Nurse.

Moth: Where are you Daughter?

Nur: What Ladie, Lambe, what Iuliet?

Iul: How now, who calls?

Nur: It is your Mother.

Iu. O Fortune, Fortune, all men call
thee fickle,
If thou art fickle, what dost thou
with him
That is renownd for faith? be
fickle Fortune,
For then I hope thou wilt not keep
him long,
But send him backe.

Enter Mother

La. Ho daughter are you vp?

Iu. Who ist that calls? It is my Lady
mother.
Is she not downe so late or up so
early?
What vnaccustomd cause procures
her hither?

Moth. Why how now Juliet?

La. Why how now Iuliet?

Iul: Madam, I am not well.

Iu. Madame I am not well.

Moth: What euermore weeping for
your Cozens death.
I thinke thoult wash him
from his graue with teares.

La. Euermore weeping for your Cozens
death.

THE STAGE PROPERTIES

Since theatre properties are mobile, a detailed discussion of those used to stage the first Globe plays will not be of much help in forming a picture of the stage nor in determining the specific requirements of the players as far as the physical outline of the theatre is concerned. A discussion of these properties will help, however, in any attempt at reconstructing a Globe performance, and in visualizing the general equipment and style of production. Furthermore, a knowledge of the size of the largest properties will help establish the minimum size of the stage doors and the trap-- the places through which the properties would have been carried or pushed--and determine whether they could have been placed without a curtained inner stage as a structural part of the theatre. The evidence in the plays suggests that few large properties were used at the first Globe, and none was unusual.

A bed is called for in five plays.

In *Volpone* (34, A 16) (F 1616 - Pp 6, p. 455) (I, ii) *Volpone* says:

" . . . my pillow now and let him enter, this
my posture."

The rest of the scene is played around the bed, with references to the "couch" and the "bed." There are other scenes in the play requiring the bed, but since one is enough to illustrate the need, I shall not catalogue the others.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20) (Q 1607; I 3) (IV, v) has the stage direction:

"They lay themselves upon a bed and the
barbers depart."

The Merry Devil of Edmonton (24, A 9)(Q 1608 - A3v)(Prologue):

"Behold him heere ladie on his restlesse couch,"

As discussed in the section on "The Curtained Space" (p.64) the curtains referred to in the stage direction which accompanies the lines may have been those around the bed. The bed in The Devil's Charter, on the other hand, was probably uncurtained to make the murder of the two young men who laid themselves upon it more visible.

Romeo and Juliet (3, B 3)(Q 1597 - I)(IV,iii) has:

"She falls on her bed within the curtaines."

This direction appears only in the first "bad" quarto, but it is impossible to say with authority whether the lack of direction in later quartos and folio, means no bed or simply no direction.

Othello - (29, C 6)(F 1623 - T 335)(V, ii):

"Enter Othello, and Desemon in her bed."

and later in the same scene (F 1623 - T 336) Othello says:

"I had forgot thee; oh come in Aemilia
Soft, by and by, let me the curtaines draw."

probably indicating a curtained bed.

Tents, large properties, but not difficult to manage, appear in four plays. That the tents were "practical"--realistically represented-- in some cases at least, is clear from the directions in The Devil's Charter (Q 1607 - A 2)(Opening Dumb Show):

". . . . one of which he guideth to a Tent where a table is furnished with diuers bagges of money which that Cardinall beareth away; and to another Tent the other Cardinall, where hee deliuereth him a great quantity of rich plate, imbraces with ioyning of hands."

Aside from these references in the prologue, there are two in IV, iv, in which a tent large enough to conceal two boys playing cards is needed. (Q - H₄ & I_v)

In Troilus and Cressida (22, A 8)(F 1623 - unnumbered page, sig. gg) (III, iii) is the direction:

"Enter Achilles and Patroclus in their Tent."

and Ulysses says:

"Achilles stands i'th entrance of his Tent;".

The action suggested by combining this line of dialogue and the stage direction is that Achilles and Patroclus enter as if from their tent, but do not join the other characters. In this scene, therefore, a real tent is not required.

Julius Caesar (12, C 1)(F 1623 - T 124) has two references to a tent both made by Brutus:

"Then in my tent I will give you audience."

and

"... let no man

Come to our Tent, till we have don our Conference"

Here the lines alone may have conveyed to the audience that the characters entered the tent.

Finally, in Richard III (1, B 1)(Q 1602 L_v)(V, iii) Richard says:

"Here pitch our tents, euen here in Bosworth field."

The folio (H 200) has the stage direction:

"They withdraw into the Tent."

and (H 201):

"Enter Darby to Richmond in his tent."

Following action indicates that this tent had to be large enough for four characters.

These few references show that the tents were large, that they were "pitched" on the stage during the course of action, and that they were of such a nature that characters could be discovered in them after having entered earlier in the scene.

There may have been some kind of scaffold or gallows used on the Globe stage, a structure of some sort with steps. The clearest reference to it is found in The Fair Maide of Bristow (31, A 14) where in the final scene Vallenger says:

"Ere I ascind this stage where I must act
the latest period of this life of mine. First
let me do my duty to my prince.
Nertunto you, to much by me offended,
Now step by step as I ascend this place
Mount thou my soule in the trowne of grace."

A few lines later, after Vallenger has been pardoned, the King says:

"Away with that same tradgike monument."

thereby indicating that the scaffold was removed from the stage, or that it was removable, at least. This is the only specific reference to a scaffold in any of the plays.

There are some references to "natural" properties-- rocks, trees, bushes, caves, etc., and the ones which do exist are puzzling.

In Warning for Fair Women (14, B 11) for example, the dumb show in Act III calls for a tree to be cut down with an axe. (For the quotation see pp. 33-34 above) Chambers uses the rising of the tree as one of his chief arguments for the need and use of trap doors on the Elizabethan stage. (III, 89) It would seem from the Globe plays, that until more is known about the manner in which dumb shows were presented on the stage that this is rather doubtful evidence. Were realistic properties necessary in a dumb show, or was the entire scene suggested in pantomime? The dumb show in Bartholomew Fair is a puppet play, yet I have never seen a suggestion that other dumb shows of the period may also have been performed by puppets while a narrator recited the plot.

In Miseries of Enforced Marriage (37, A 19)(IV, i) there is the following dialogue:

"Butler: Squat heart squat, creep me into these bushes and lie me as close to the ground as you would do to a wench.

... so, you are on the ground, and I to this tree to escape the gallows."

He overhears the first part of the scene which follows and speaks to the audience without being heard by the other characters, and then carries on a dialogue with those on the ground. He did not need to have a real tree, and probably used one of the columns.

Another reference to a natural property appears in the dumb show in Hamlet (19, A 6), which is set in a "Banke of flowers" in Q. and in "an Arbor" in Q. In both, the setting is described by Hamlet as the scene progresses, and it does not seem probable that properties more elaborate than those used in the play itself would be required for the dumb show.

There is a reference to a bower in two plays. In Satiromastix (18, A 5)(IV, iii) Sir Adrian says:

"Walke in my garden: ladyes, let your eyes
Shed life into these flowers by their bright beames:
Sit, sit, heres a large bower, here all may heare."

and in Much Ado About Nothing (10, B 10)(III, i) Hero says:

"And bid her steal into the pleached bower
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun
Forbid the sun to enter."

She is sending Margaret with that message to Beatrice who later enters and overhears Hero and Ursula and is, presumably, in the bower.

In this play a property like the bower pictured on the title page of the 1633 edition of The Spanish Tragedy would have served, and a similar arrangement attached to a bench would have supplied the large "Bower" referred to in Satiromastix if anything was needed. Unlike Reynolds who favors the idea that scenic properties are suggested by the cuts on title pages (p.42 and p.46), I think they had little connection with the staging of the plays. Several title pages of plays represented realistic exterior scenes with features such as hills and clouds. (To cite but two such cuts, Philaster by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1620 edition, and The Maid's Tragedie, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 1622 edition.) Cuts on title pages of books and prose of the period show exteriors and interiors similar to those used on the plays, and strengthen my contention that they were artist's impressions of an incident in the work with no foundation in stage realism.

Orlando in As You Like It (17, C 2)(III, i1) says:

"O Rosalind these Trees shall be my Bookes..."

and Rosalind in the same scene says she found some verses on a Palme tree. Since an olive tree is also mentioned, one wonders if the trees to which Orlando refers may not have been as imaginary as the exotic ones mentioned, along with the lioness, as found in the Forest of Arden.

Titus Andronicus (2, B 2)(V, i, 46) has:

"Lucius A halter, soldiers! hang him on this tree
and by his side his fruit of bastardy."

A ladder is called for and brought and Aaron, the one being hung, apparently ascends the ladder, but he is not hung.

The pulpit referred to in Julius Caesar (see F.91 above) has been discussed in connection with the upper playing space. If the upper space was not used, some kind of

structure would have been necessary, possibly the same property as the scaffold with some minor changes.

Volpone (34, A 16)(F 1616 - Qq6, p.467)(II, ii) used either an easily assembled structure or a portable bench of some kind:

"Mosca, Politique, Peigrene, Volpone, Nano, Grege

Under that windore, there't must be. The same.
Pol. Fellowes, to mount a banke!"

A Warning for Fair Women (14, B 11)(Q 1599 - H4) a bar of some sort may have been used to augment the impression of a court suggested by the words:

"Cleark. To the Barre, George Browne, and hold vp
thy hand."

Thomas Lord Cromwell (21, A 7)(Q 1602 - C2v)(III, i)
has a reference to a bridge:

"Cro.(mwell) Content thee man, here set vp these
two billes,
And let vs keepe our standing on the bridge:
The fashion of this country is such,
If any stranger be oppressed with want
To write the matter of his miserie,
And such as are disposed to succour him
Will doe it, what hast thou set them vp?

One stands at one end and one at tother."

and a few lines later:

"Hodge. Let vs keepe our standings upon this Bridge.
We shall get more here with begging in one day
Than I shall with making Horseshoes in a whole yeare."

Whether the upper playing space was used or some arrangement made on the main stage to suggest a bridge is impossible to say. In fact, again, it is difficult to tell from the evidence if it was considered necessary to augment the lines with properties of any kind. This bridge may have had no actual representation.

This is all of the large or unusual properties. The others were the usual ones: costumes, jewels, flowers, money, "gold" viands and other effects used for banquet processions, plate, biers, weapons, banners, pikes, trumpets,

drums, heads, signs, letters, chests, a portrait, a bear, a dog, etc. None of these helps to form any idea of the theatre or stage.

Several references to the characters' carrying their own properties give an interesting view of staging.

The Devil's Charter (38, A 20)(Q 1607 - C)(I, v)

"Enter Lucretia alone in her night gowne vntired,
in a chaire, which she planteth vpon the Stage."

"Sound loud musicke: a cupboard of plate brought in."(L)
(V, iv)

"Sound trumpets solemnly, enter a table spread,
Viands brought in:" (L)(V, iv)

"Enter two Pages with a Table, two looking glasses,
a box with Combes and instruments, a rich bowle."
(F_{4v})(IV,iii)

Satiromastix (18, A 5(Q 1602 - G₄)(V, ii) has a similar reference:

"Soft Musicke, chair is set under a canopie."

Coriolanus (39, C 8)(F 1623 - T 10)(II, ii) also:

"Enter Volumnia and Virgilia, mother and wife to
Martius:

They set them downe on two lowe stooles and sowe."

may indicate that the stools had just been placed for them, or even that they carry them in themselves.

Chairs used for the carrying of supposedly badly wounded characters are another common property which help to illuminate stage conventions. Such a chair is used in A Yorkshire Tragedy, A Warning for Fair Women, Othello, Satiromastix, and possibly Lear and Volpone, where references to "litters" may mean the same property.

CONCLUSION

Does anything emerge from this study of the specific requirements of the actors in the first Globe between 1599 and 1608 ? Little that is positive, I fear. The theatre was probably round. The stage was elevated and had a trap door. The tiring house was a structure which provided two entrances to the stage. There was no need for an inner stage as a permanent architectural feature, and while some type of space for the discovery of characters was apparently necessary, it is the discoveries that are important, not the space. There was an elevated playing space but no evidence that it was curtained or divided into "windows." Elizabethans must have gone to the Globe prepared to use their ears more than their eyes, and to accept the characters words for the "scene."

"Work, work your thoughts, and therein see a siege."

Henry V, III, Prologue.

APPENDIX THE CLOSING OF THE LONDON THEATRES 1599 - 1608.

Although the limits of this study are 1599 to 1608, it is important to realize that the Chamberlain's-King's company was not playing exclusively at the first Globe during these years, but for long periods were touring the country.

The feelings of officials of both Church and State toward theatres and actors were frequently antagonistic, and in time of plague even the Court patronage gave way to fear. Therefore, the London theatres were in constant danger of being closed for one reason or another.

Exactly how much of the time the theatres were closed during the period under discussion is difficult to ascertain. Many orders relating to playhouses are missing because of losses of the Privy Council Registers from April, 1599 to January, 1600, and from January, 1602, to May 1613. An abstract for the years 1602 to 1610 exists,¹ but it is an inadequate substitute for the original volumes lost in the fire of 1619.

Playing was prohibited in London on Sundays and during Lent. (Chambers, IV, 331). This prohibition is reflected in:

A Mad World My Masters by Middleton, published 1608, acted 1604-7 by the Children of Paul's. In I, i:

"Folly-wit. I easily believe that, Antient, for thou lost thy colours once. Nay, faith, as for blushing, I think there's grace little enough amongst you all; 'tis Lent in your cheeks, the flag is down."

This speech refers to the custom of lowering the playhouse flag when there was no performance.

¹British Museum Addit. MS. 11402.

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In an attempt to control the number of theatres, licenses had to be obtained. The Globe seemed to have had no licensing trouble.

The real enemy of theatres during this period was the plague, and it is surprising to realize how often the first Globe was closed by this menace and its company forced to tour the provinces. A chart showing the probable periods of prohibition is given at the end of this appendix. (p. 114)

Fortunately for theatrical development in general and the Globe theatre in particular, London was comparatively free of plague from 1594 to 1603, but from 1603 to 1609 the closings were frequent and lasted for months at a time. The summary of these closings which follows is based on the researches of Chambers and F.P. Wilson in the Remembrancia, the Chancery Rolls, the Privy Council Register, the City Archives, and letters of the period. The chart is based on Wilson's conclusions in The Plague in Shakespeare's London.

On 19 March, 1603, a Privy Council letter to the Lord Mayor and the Justices of Middlesex closed the theatres. This may have been for Lent, or because of the Queen's illness. The reason is not given. The Queen died on March 24. There is no known record of any action in regard to the theatres because of her death, but Chambers refers to a gift to the Admiral's Men from the Corporation of Canterbury

"because it was thought fitt they should not play at all in fegard that our late Queene was then very sicke or dead as they supposed." (II, 185)

In 1603 Easter fell on 24 April, but the^{company} could not have played for more than a week or ten days, because the plague was reaching alarming virulence in the out parishes by the third week of May, and on 26 May, the deaths within the city reached 32. All evidence suggests that 30 deaths in a

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week was the limit at which playing was forced to cease at this time. The draft for a patent for the Queen's players which was prepared in May 1603 was to take effect when the plague deaths dropped below 30. That issued to the King's Men on 19 May, was to take effect "when the infection of the plague shall decrease", which suggests that they were not playing at the time it was issued. They visited Richmond, Bath, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Mortlake, and Wilton House during the summer. (Chambers II, 209)

Early in the same summer, Royal Proclamations enjoined resort to the country because of the seriousness of the sickness, and on 23 June, Trinity law sittings were deferred. In July, John Chamberlain referred to the probable rotting away of pageant stages prepared to celebrate James' entry into London, and he himself left the city and remained away until December.

Bartholomew Fair and other fairs were suppressed in August, 1603. On 16 September, Michaelmas law sittings were deferred, and on 18 October transferred to Winchester.

In October the weekly deaths were some of the highest recorded:

6 October	- 1,641
13 October	- 1,146
20 October	- 624
27 October	- 508

After the second week in November they continued to decline, until in the last week of December they were down to 74.

The total deaths for the city of London in 1603 were 30,578 out of a population of around 250,000. For the rest of this period the yearly totals were:

Year	Deaths from Plague	Total Deaths
1604	896	5,219
1605	444	6,392
1606	2,124	7,920
1607	2,352	8,022
1608	2,262	9,020
1609	4,240	11,785

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On 8 February, 1604, an unusually large payment of £30 was made to:

"Richard Burbadg one of his mat^{es}. comedians. . . for the mayntenaunce and releife of himseelfe and the rest of his company being prohibited to p'sente any playes publiquellie in or neere London by reason of greate perill that might growe through the extraordinary concourse and assemble of people to a new increase of the plague till it shall please God to settle the cittie in a more p'fecte health by way of his mat^{ies}. free gifte."

On 9 April, 1604, the Privy Council authorized three companies, the King's, Queen's, and Prince's, to play at the Globe, Curtain, and Fortune, respectively, if deaths from the plague did not exceed 30 per week. The reason given for allowing playing to be resumed was the ending of Lent. It is possible, therefore, that the theatres had opened before the beginning of Lent in February; but the payment of £30 on 8 February to a company apparently still prohibited from playing would limit the time of playing to two weeks at the most, and it seems improbable that the theatres reopened before 9 April.

In May, 1604, the weekly deaths were 20, 20, 24, and 34, but dropped in June to 14, 11, 16, and 9. They stayed down in August and September, usual the beginning of the worst period. London remained comparatively free for the rest of the year, but plague was bad in the country and Parliment was prorogued from 7 July, to 7 February, 1605, lest the gathering in of people should bring the sickness to the city.

The next real danger in London was in July, 1605, when Parliment was again prorogued from 3 October, until 5 November. By 13 September the plague was in all the suburbs, including Southwark and Middlesex. In early October the weekly death rate dropped but smallpox was serious and a restraint was put

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into effect on 5 October. On October 12, a letter of Winwood's notes "a sudden rising of the sickness to 30 a week", and the restraint was kept until 15 December, at which time the King's, Queen's and Prince's companies were to be allowed to "play and recite their interludes at their accustomed places."

On 1606 the plague was noticeable in March, and deaths rose to 33 by 10 July, 50 by 17 July, and 66 by the end of the month. On 23 September the Michaelmas law sittings were adjourned and all jury trials in the city were forbidden. The week of 2 October had a death total of 141, the high point for the year, but the weekly deaths continued above 40 most weeks to January, 1607, and the theatres were probably closed. If the closings were voluntary, depending on the plague bills, they could have opened between 20 November, and 4 December, and again between 18 and 25 December. It seems doubtful if an official prohibition would have been removed until the death rate had remained more steadily below the limit.

The weather was unseasonably warm early in 1607 and the plague lasted through the winter and was spreading in the suburbs by March. Parliament was prorogued from 7 February to October. If restraint were automatic, the theatres would have ceased playing between 5 and 12 February, and 12 and 26 March; but this may not have been well observed because a restraint was asked for on 12 April, in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Lord Chamberlain, (the Earl of Suffolk) and probably took effect by the end of the month. The weekly deaths continued over 30 and increased after July to reach a peak of 177 in the week of 24 September. They did not fall below 30 until 19 November, and on 2 November access to Court was restrained. A cold spell early in December ended the epidemic for that year.

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In 1608, deaths remained under 30 per week until the third week of July when they rose to 40 a week and remained there for the rest of the year. By this time 40 may have represented the limit at which voluntary restraint took effect. It appears to have been the limit in 1610-11 when Lodowik Barry's Ram Alley was entered in the Stationer's Register and published, for a character in this play (Q1611 - F₄) says:

"I dwindle at a serjeant in buff
Almost as much as a new player does
At a plague bill certefied forty."

Perhaps voluntary restraint became less effective as the pinch of long periods of closing were felt. At any rate, a restraining proclamation was issued in the autumn of 1608, and on 17 November, William Pollard and Richard Gwynn were sent to Newgate by the Court of Alderman for allowing a public play at Whitefriars.

Deaths decreased in March, 1609, to around 30, but increased in April along with smallpox, and the restraint continued until 7 December. A letter of Dudley Carleton dated 8 July stated that the town was empty, and Dekker in Worke for Armourours (1609) says:

"the pide Bul heere keepes a tossing and a roaring
when the Red Bull dares not stir."

indicating that the printing of plays supplanted their acting.

Bartholomew Fair was held in August, 1609, and seems to have spread the plague around the country. The city death bill was 200 in September.

The Chamber Accounts indicate that the King's Men received retaining payments in April 1609, and March 1610.

All in all, these were bad years for actors and it is remarkable that the theatre flowered in a period when it was faced by a complex of uncertainty well expressed in A Mad World My Masters, V,v :

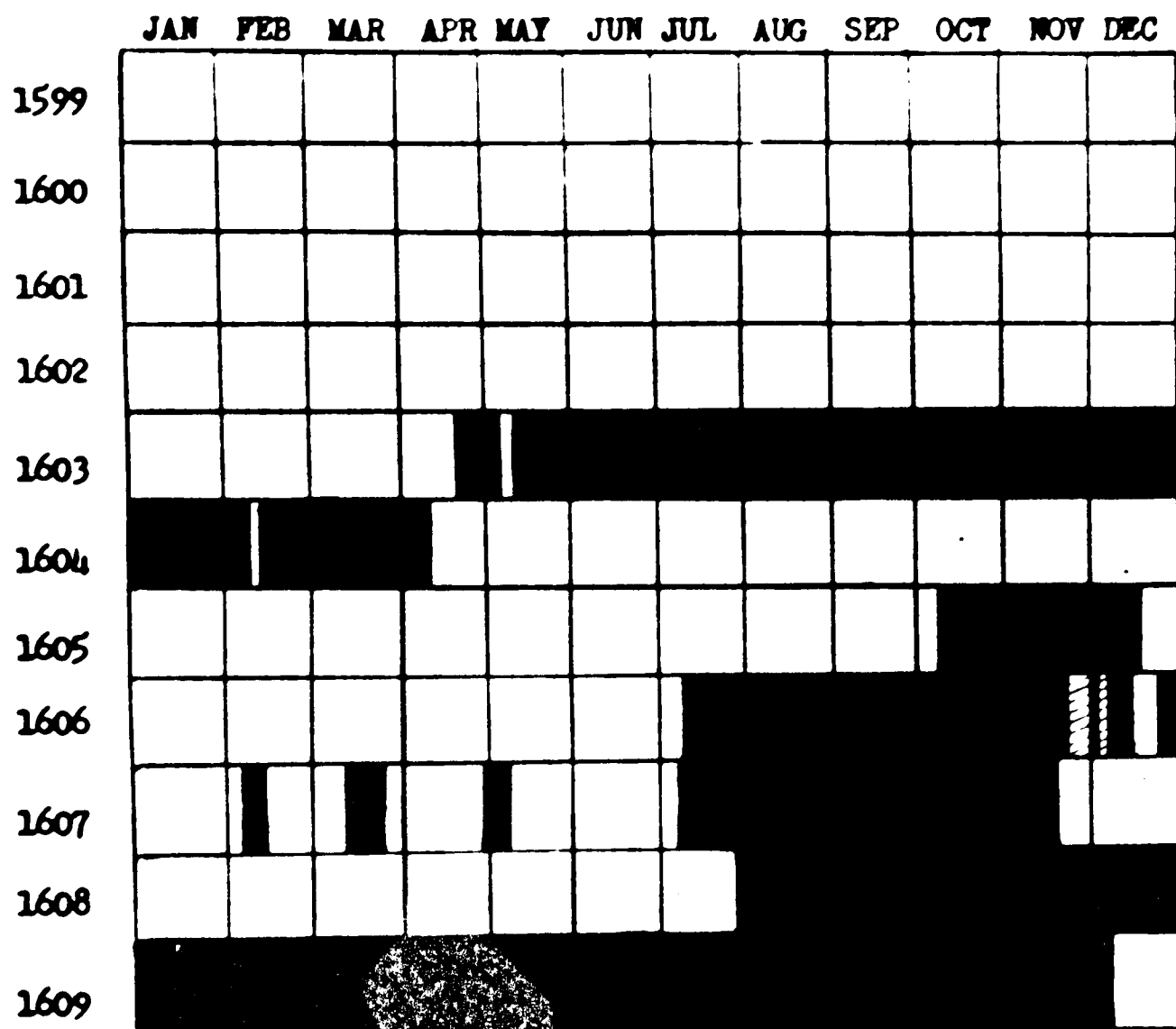
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"Semus. There are certain players come to town, sir,
and desire to interlude before your worship.

Sir Bounteous. Players, by the mass they are welcome,
they will grace my entertainment well: but
for certain players, there thou liest, boy:
they were never more uncertain in their
lives; now up, and now down; they know not
when to play; where to play; nor what to
play; not when to play for fearful fools;
where to play for puritan fools; nor what
to play for critical fools."

It was a bad time for playwrights, too. Many took to
writing pamphlets in an attempt to make something out of
the plague, but even Dekker (one of the most successful
of these), complained bitterly that the companies were
buying no new plays for their tours, but were:

"making fooles of the poore countrey people in
driving them like Geese to sit cackling in an
old barne; and to swallow downe those playes,
for new, which here every punck and her squire
(like the Interpreter and his poppet) can rand
out by heart, they are so stale and therefore
so stincking."



THIS CHART REPRESENTS THE PERIODS DURING WHICH THE GLOBE THEATRE WAS PROBABLY CLOSED BY PLAGUE BETWEEN 1599-1600, EITHER VOLUNTARILY WHEN THE DEATHS REACHED THE LIMIT OF 30 OR 40 A WEEK, OR BY OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION

 PROBABLY CLOSED

Figure 3.

CRITICISM OF THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE, ITS DESIGN
AND EQUIPMENT BY J. C. ADAMS.

Writing of J. C. Adams' book on The Globe Playhouse G.E. Bentley says that it should have been called "Methods of staging which appear to have been commonly employed in Jacobean and Caroline performances and the theatrical facilities which they seem to require with occasional special attention to the first Globe."¹

I agree with this and with Bentley's statement that Adams has misapplied his "wide familiarity with Elizabethan plays", but I question what Bentley calls Adams' "sound analysis of theatrical problems." On the basis of my study of the first Globe plays and of Adams' book, as shall be seen, I disagree ~~with~~ with many of Adams' conclusions, but most of all I disagree with his method. His attempt to make a positive contribution, his search for certainty, for mathematically exact dimensions, for logical answers to every demand made by the printed drama have led him to somewhat preposterous extremes to support his contention that the drama of the Elizabethan period was presented with realistic scenery in the style of our present day theatre.

Adams is right in stating that his is the first attempt at a complete reconstruction of the Globe Playhouse; one can only regret that he has not been more discriminating, more accurate in his choice of materials and less accurate in his dimensions. His major faults seem to lie in not distinguishing between the first Globe and the second, in

¹Modern Philology, Vol. 40, pp. 359-361

using as evidence of features of the first Globe, plays, documents, and records which apply to the second Globe or to one of the private theatres, quite different in structure from the first Globe, and in assuming that the theatres of the period were uniform in plan and structure. The result is a book that gives an interesting composite of Elizabethan theatres, but is not very illuminating as far as the first Globe is concerned and not very reliable because of what Bentley calls Adams' "undiscriminating admission of evidence." It makes little positive contribution to the field of the study of staging plays during this period, and negatively it has done much to spread the belief in the necessity of as elaborate a building as he postulates.

When those who are not special students of the subject are so positive that Adams' hypothetical reconstruction is correct that they write of " ... the scholarship of Mr. John Cranford Adams, the publication of whose volume on the Globe Playhouse was greeted at Harrow as an epoch-making event: thanks to him we now know what the Globe theatre was really like." (italics mine), one can see how convincing he has been.

"At the back of this great platform stands the tiring-house, with its complicated structure built on three levels, and six distinct stages for the use of the resourceful dramatist.", writes Ronald Watkins, the producer who attempted to stage a play in a theatre somewhat similar to the one Adams evolved. When he actually came to stage the play, it must be said to Watkins' credit that he found no need for "all the intricate structure and equipment of the original." This obviously puzzled him, for he writes, " ... A Midsummer Night's Dream would not have employed

¹ Moore, R.W., Foreword to Moonlight at the Globe, by Ronald Watkins, p.7

² Watkins, R., Moonlight at the Globe, p.21.

³ ibid., p.21.

the full resources of the theatre: it may even be that this was one of the reasons why it was dropped from the repertory in 1600 and came into the hands of the printer. There seems no opportunity, except for a brief moment at the very end of the play, for using the second level stages; all else will be done on ground level." Of course there is no indication that the printing of a play meant that it had been dropped from the acting repertory. Plays which appeared in various editions over a period of years bear evidence of continuing production. To take but one example, Romeo and Juliet was printed as "plaid publicquely, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Seruants." (Q. 1597, two years before the first Globe was built), and " ... by the King's Maisties Seruants at the Globe ... " (Q. 1609, twelve years later).

Surely Adams has been too convincing if he has persuaded a producer (who should be most acutely aware of the fact that a theatre must incorporate the different technical requirements of a repertory of quite dissimilar plays) to discard from the Globe repertory a play that does not utilize all of the elaborate features Adams postulates.

To return to Adams' book, Bentley has praised the first three chapters, which deal with the shape, nature of the property, frame and auditorium, as being "solidly based." Here I am not in agreement with Bentley since in this section Adams states, "The shape, size, and interrelationships of the many parts of the Globe stage and auditorium were determined or at least strongly influenced by the shape, size and structure of the playhouse as a whole." (p.5) He is right, of course, but in stating that the Globe was an octagonal structure he was probably wrong. Here again I must refer to the authoritative way in which

Mr. I. A. Shapiro has dealt with Adams' "evidence". Through his careful study of pictorial documents he found "no unimpeachable evidence that any Bankside playhouse was other than cylindrical in shape." Certainly Shapiro deals expertly with Adams' claim—"without producing any evidence"—that the Visscher etching on which he bases his assumption that the theatre was octagonal is reliable, and states, "... it may be asserted with confidence that the reliability of all versions of Visscher's view is suspect. There are so many inaccuracies in its representation of Southwark that it seems doubtful if Visscher was ever there ...". Now this is a very important point in any attempt to reconstruct the Globe on as detailed a scale as Adams has, and certainly it is important insofar as his method is concerned. If he can be shown to be in error on so basic a point as the shape of the theatre, the evidence of his entire book becomes suspect, and a statement such as "The facts about the frame which have been brought together in these pages - particularly the exact size and shape of the building as a whole, and the location of vertical posts which determined the bays or units of interior space - will be of great assistance in subsequent chapters when problems of seating and of stage design and equipment are raised." (p.30 - italics mine), is ridiculous.

Adams' method of writing seems to be to base one chapter on a false or suspect assumption and then later on to refer to that chapter as if it had been based on carefully documented evidence. He is, in fact, very much like the statistician in the current facetious definition, "one who can draw a mathematically straight line from an unfounded assumption to a foregone conclusion."

Bearing out Bentley's comment on Adams' "undiscriminating admission of evidence," I examined the evidence supporting Adams' contention that, "Elizabethan dramatists were fond of

Shapiro, I.A., "The Bankside Theatres: Early Engravings" in Shakespeare Survey Vol. I, 1948, pp. 25-37: and in "An Original Drawing of the Globe Theatre", *ibid.* Vol. II, 1949, pp. 21-23.

likening their wooden playhouses to the stone amphitheatres of Greece and Rome, and hence they might apply to the one descriptive phrases more suitable to the other. The phrases were wholly conventionalized. Among the twenty or more passages to be found in plays and poems of the period which refer to the auditorium as round, several occur in plays written for private theatres every one of which we know was rectangular." (p. 35) This is such an important point (not the shape of the theatres, but the literal or conventional use of descriptive words) that I have examined all of Adams' citations.

Wily Beguiled, anonymous, published 1606. The Epilogue (the reference given is "prologue" but I can find nothing about "round" there, so assume that it was a typographical error) reads:

"Gentles, all compast in this circled rounde,
 Whose kind aspects do patronize our sportse
 To you Ile bend as low as to earth,
 In all the humble complements of curtesie.
 But if there be, (as tis no doubt there is)
 In all this round some Cinique censurers,
 Whose onely skill consists in finding faults,..."

Adams dates this play 1606, its date of publication, and assigns it to Whitefriars. He does not mention the company that acted it, but Chambers (III, 135) considers it as one of the plays which may be assigned "with varying degrees of plausibility" to the Children of Pauls. He dates it anywhere from 1596 to 1606. Before 1600 the boys played at Blackfriars, but when that theatre was taken over by the Children of the Revels, Pauls' Boys probably returned to acting in their old singing school; at any rate there are other references to a playing place at Paul's with a circular auditorium (the chapter house, perhaps?), for example, in Antonio and Mellida (1601-2) "as . . . acted by the Children of Pauls," Part II, Prologue: "within this round" and "this ring". Some company was playing at Paul's in 1601 because plays there were suppressed during Lent, according to Chambers (II, 20), who says also (IV, 53) "if the production of Wily Beguiled "was in the 'circled rounde' of Paul's, the quasiacademic note is explicable." Further he says, "The exact location of Paul's is obscure, but we know that its auditorium was round and its stage small." (II, 554) Thus it seems that Adams' choice of this play was not a good one for it is possible that in this case the reference is quite literal and the theatre for which the play

was written was not rectangular.

The Family of Love by Thomas Middleton. Prologue: (again a typographical error, for although Adams' reference is to Epilogue I can find no "round" reference there)

"If, for opinion hath not blaz'd his fame,
Nor expectation fill'd the general round."

Adams gives the publication date of this play as 1608, and assigns it to Whitefriars. It was probably acted earlier to judge from the "Epistle to the Reader" in the 1608 edition regretting that the play was not "published when the general voice of the people had sealed it for good, and the newness of it made it much more desired than at this time." Fleay (Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, II, 94) thinks it may have originally belonged to Paul's, and Chambers (II, 66) toys with a literal interpretation of the "general round" similar to that in Wily Beguiled. I believe in this case the reference may not be to the theatre at all. It seems nearer to the Elizabethan meaning of "general" as the public at large, (as in "caviarre to the general"). The line would then mean that expectation had not filled the people who were "a-round". Why a "general" round otherwise? A "circled" round, a "ringed" round, but "general" is not a good choice of word to modify "round", unless expectation filled the general (public) (a)round (about).

A Fine Companion by Shackerly Marmion, 1st published 1633, "Acted before the King and Queene at White-Hall, And sundrie times with great applause at the private House in Salisbury Court . . ." In the Prologue:

"Author: In that you wrong th' approved judgments of
This noble Auditory, who, like a sphere
Moved by a strong intelligence, sit round
To crown our infant muse whose celestial
Applause she heard at her first entrance."

"Auditory" seems to be used here quite literally in the sense of "audience". "Round" has the sense of "a-round", which I do not find conventionalized. "Sphere" is not descriptive of sitting, but of being moved, as a planet is controlled by divine intelligence, or, at least, by some agent outside itself. "Celestial applause" emphasises the comparison to a body heavenly in its comprehension and response, rather than spherical in its shape.

The Muses Looking Glass by Thomas Randolph, 1st published 1638.

"Epilogus

Roscus Solus

You've seen the Muses' Looking-Glass, ladies fair
And gentle youths; and others too who e're
Have fill'd this orb: it is the end we meant
Yourselves unto yourselves still to present.

A soldier shall himself in Hector see;
 Grave counsellors, Nestor, view themselves in thee.
 When Lucretia's part shall on our stage appear,
 Every chaste lady sees her shadow there.
 Nay come who will, for our indifferent glasses
 Will show both fools, and knaves, and all their faces,
 To vex and cure them: but we need not fear,
 We do not doubt but each one now that's here,
 That has a fair soul and a beauteous face,
 Will visit oft the Muse's Looking-Glass.

This was a King's Revels' play probably acted in 1630. Bentley, in The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, (p.292) thinks the company may have played at Salisbury Court or even at the Fortune, between 1630-1638. Either one of these theatres was, of course, rectangular. Is it not possible, however, that what seems to be, therefore, a conventionalized use of the word "orb" might refer in part to the (round?) looking glass the players have held up to the audience in the play? "Orb" then becomes not primarily a conventional description of the theatre, but something more involved, dictated by the desire for a tie-up with the title of the play--all who have seen themselves reflected in the mirror, as well as all who have filled the theatre. There are several references in the play to looking glasses, and actual looking-glasses appear on the stage. (i.e. "Actus I. Scaena I Enter Bird the Feather-man, and Mistress Flowerdew, Wife to a Haberdasher of small Wares, the one having brought Feathers to the Playhouse: the other Pins and Looking-glasses: ...") A good reference is found in I, iii:

"Upon our stage two glasses oft' there be,
 The comic mirror and the tragedy: "

The Lady Errant by William Cartwright, 1st published 1635.

"Prologue: We cannot here complain
 Of want of Prescence, or of Train;
 For if choice Beauties make the Court,
 And their light guild the Sport,
 This honour'd Ring presents us here
 Glories as rich and fresh as there;
 And it may under Questions fall,
 Which is more Court, This, or White-Hall."

The reference here is obviously to the audience and not the auditorium. It is certainly the audience which is honoured, compared with the Court, and presents glories to the theatre. "Honoured Ring", like "Court Circle", may be a conventionalized use, accounted for, as Adams says, by poetic necessity; but it is hardly a "misleading epithet ... accounted for by Renaissance enthusiasm for the past."

Thus of the five plays Adams cites, the only two that can

be classed as "Elizabethan" are probably making literal references to a round theatre. Of the other three, two of the "round" references are to the audience, and the third may have been a play on the word "orb". This is not very convincing proof of his point that Elizabethan dramatists referred to the round theatre in a conventionalized manner.

In the three chapters of Adams' book of which Bentley approves the section on "The Shape of the Globe" in chapter I, is of doubtful value. That on "The Nature of the Globe Property" adds nothing to the subject except an emphasis on the wet, swampy and marshlike nature of the land, an emphasis which later works against his postulations.

Chapter II, "The Playhouse Frame" is declared by the author to consist of "facts . . . giving the exact size and shape of the building", but here again he has merely used the Fortune and Hope contracts to work out some possible, but not necessarily the only possible and certainly not factual dimensions.

With many of the sections in Chapter III, "The Auditorium", there can be no possible quarrel. Has anyone ever doubted that there was a sign at the playhouse, for example, or could it matter less to an appreciation of the plays staged there, or even to an accurate reconstruction of the playhouse? Comments on the main entrance are interesting, but not revealing. These are some of the "trivialities" which Granville-Barker mentioned when he wrote of Adams' book,

"Indeed he will often most sportingly lay himself open to attack when he need not, by pleading all sorts of trivialities, neither provable nor worth proving."¹

In section 3 of this chapter, which deals with the slope of the theatre yard, Adams gets ahead of his story for he bases the need for excavating the entire yard to slope toward the stage on: (1) the existence of an inner stage

¹Modern Language Review, Vol. 39, 43, pp.296-7.

which had to be 12 feet high, and (2.) his interpretation of the Fortune Contract section which reads:

"The same Stadge to be paled in below with good strong and sufficyent newe oken bourdes And likewise the lower Storie of the saide fframe within-side, and the same lower storie to be alsoe laide over and fenced with stronge yron pykes."

Whether these pikes were placed over meaning "on top" of the oak boards used to pale in the front of the frame, or over, meaning "in front of" and hence fenced in that sense, with a space between the fence of iron pikes and the oak palings, is open to argument.

Pikes placed on top of the palings would certainly have been a barrier between the spectators seated in the first gallery, and the stage and would have left them literally caged in. Adams does not say what he thinks the height of the pikes was, but since he wants them to be from 6 to 6½ feet above ground level they would need to be 1 to 1 foot 4 inches high since the oak palings are 5 feet to 5 feet 8 inches.

The Fortune Contract is so worded that we could conclude that the Globe did not have these "yron pykes", since after mentioning them in connection with the Fortune stage and frame we find the phrase, "... the saide Stadge to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the Stadge of the Saide Plaie howse Called the Globe." Adams chooses to believe that the Globe did have the pikes.

I agree with him that the oak palings could have been 5½ feet above the ground, and that the stage was 5 feet high, but see no necessity for sloping the entire "ground" floor, since the need for sloping it is based more on the need and existence of the 12 foot inner stage than on the iron pikes.

In Chapter IV, "The Platform Stage", Adams seems to use the Fortune Contract to support the points about the size with which he agrees and to reject it or remain silent about it when he reaches a point with which he does not agree. He thinks, for example, that the stage at the Globe was tapering in shape. (pp.97-8) The Fortune Contract calls for a stage, " .. in length ffortie and three foote of lawfull assize and in breadth to extend to the middle of the yarde of the said howse." This Adams admits, is a rectangular stage, but since the "plott", often referred to, is missing, he thinks it might have been tapering. At all events, he tapers the Globe stage so as to give more space for spectators to stand. He places a railing around the edge of the tapering stage and bases this action on references to such a railing in plays written long after the first Globe was destroyed. There is no reference to such a railing in the first Globe plays.

Whether or not there were rushes on the platform seems to me as immaterial to Adams' purpose as does the size and shape of the Globe sign. Adams rejects the idea that there were rushes on the main stage not on the basis of evidence or lack of it, but on that of :(1.) expense, (2.) troublesomeness in that they would have covered the trap doors from the actors' view, and (3.) interference with the use of hell-fire and smoke. I agree that there were no rushes used, not for the reasons Adams gives, but because they were not specifically required by any of the existing plays; but, I repeat, of all of the features about which we know little or nothing, the choice to investigate the use of rushes is interesting.

The next section, "The Stage Posts", is less dogmatic than others, and says little more than there were posts on the stage and that references in some of the plays

indicate that the posts were of such a nature that the actors could climb them. With great restraint Adams says, " ... no situation has come to my notice which establishes their exact position." (p.112)

As to "Platform Traps" (Adams' next section) at the first Globe, there may have been need for one as I have pointed out in the section on the stage, but I do not think that the plays show any need for the eight or nine Adams states were there.¹

I do not think there was the elaborate "Hell" which Adams states was under the stage. A cellar 8 feet deep requiring an excavation 5 feet deep would have been quite impossible in a swamp. The expense of building such a cellar (8 feet deep by 36 feet wide by 41 feet, tapering to 24, long), would have been out of all proportion to its need and use, and it could not have been dug hurriedly. Search the first Globe plays as one will, there is no need for so elaborate a hell. In the instances where a trap door may have been used, it would seem that the actor using it could have walked back to the tiring house under a 5 or 5½ foot stage with very little inconvenience. Of all the preposterous assumptions Adams makes, I think that the one to have a cellar 8 feet deep under all of the stage at the first Globe is the most preposterous!

On those points in the rest of the chapter which deal with entrances, passageways, galleries, rooms, seats and standing room there is more chance for agreement, for here Adams makes a reconstruction of a theatre from the Fortune and Hope contracts, a somewhat elaborate, but nonetheless, logical reconstruction, "in the absence of evidence to the contrary." (p.85)

¹i.e. Ceiling trap, Heavens Trap, Heavens display traps, "study" floor trap, central trap on main stage and a trap in each "corner" of the main stage.

In Chapter V, "The Tiring House: Exterior", Adams states, "The scenic wall no longer formed a flat plane - as represented in the DeWitt view of the Swan -- but comprised a middle section 24 feet wide (in which two levels of inner stages topped by a music gallery were installed), flanked on either side by sections 12 feet wide (in which the stage doors topped by bay-windows were installed). Because the playhouse frame was octagonal, the flanking sections formed a wide angle with the middle section, a fact that contributed -- as the following pages will attempt to show -- a new range of flexibility and realism to the staging of plays." (p.134) There is no proof or reliable evidence for any of this and all of the suggestions must be flatly rejected.

Does Adams keep in mind the fact that both the Fortune and Hope contract followed the building of the first Globe? Is it not logical to think of the first Globe being more nearly like DeWitt's sketch of the Swan than the elaborate combination of all the Elizabethan, Jacobean and even Carolinian playhouse features Adams postulates? The first Globe was built primarily as a playhouse and not as a bear-baiting arena, but there were no major differences between the two since some were used interchangeably, and what was more logical than to erect a building on the Bankside which, if it failed as a playhouse, could be readily converted to an animal baiting arena? The Globe was built in a section of London associated in the minds of the public with animal baiting, It was built from material used in a theatre that probably had a removable stage.¹ It was built early enough in the development of the Elizabethan theatre for all of its antecedents to have been drawn from street theatres, inn-yard theatres, and animal baiting arenas. It may have made a definite advance in the

¹Thornkike, A., Shakespeare's Theatre, p.44.

design and structure of theatre architecture, but it is not likely that it made as revolutionary a step as Adams asks us to imagine.

All this is inserted here to preface a discussion of the tiring house and also to add to my argument opposing the digging of a cellar 5 feet deep under all the stage.

Adams draws too much of what little evidence he has from plays that were written long after the features which the first Globe presented to playwrights and public were possibly superseded by the private theatres, and not enough on (1.) the Swan drawing, (2.) the Fortune Contract, and (3.) plays which were known to have been staged in the first Globe.

If we accept the Fortune Contract as valid evidence for the construction of that theatre and note its references to the Globe we find that it calls for the building of a frame with a "Stadge and Tyreing howse to be made, erected and sett upp within the said fframe."

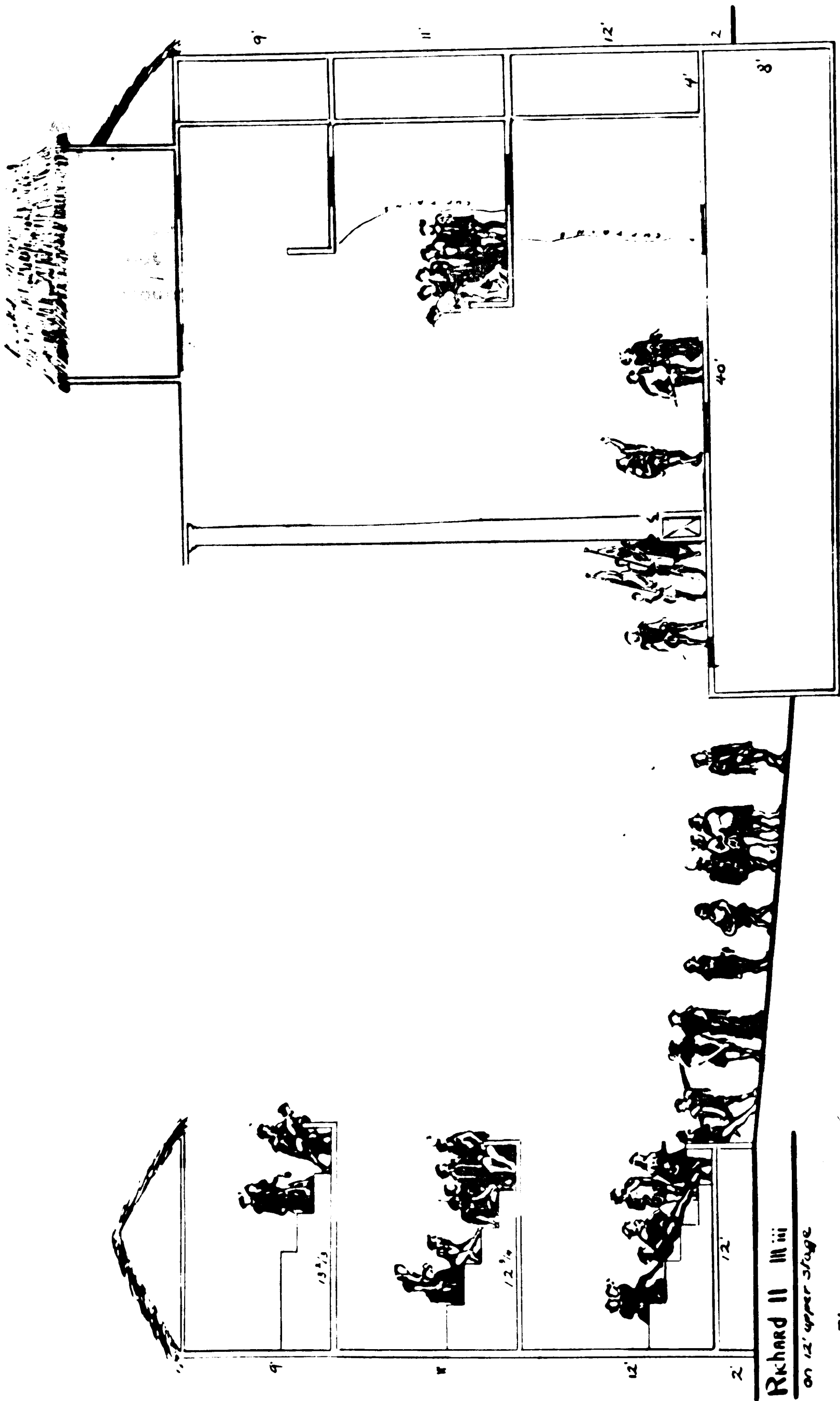
Adams interprets "within" as meaning inside part of the frame and places the tiring house, but not the stage, in it. Hodges' suggested interpretation in Shakespeare Survey III (p. 90) would seem more nearly correct, and to look at the whole problem in the light he suggests leads to but one conclusion: the playhouses and animal baiting arenas were probably built as miniature coliseums, and the stages and tiring houses were closely patterned on the street stages which immediately preceeded the Elizabethan playhouses and literally set "within" the frames of the theatres.

To return to the subject of Adams' investigation--the five levels of the tiring house-- confusion at onẽ arises when we read that, "The floor of the first story was level with that of the platform and hence was also level with the floor of the lowest spectator gallery." (p.135)

Had Adams included a cross sectional diagram at this point, it would look like the one I have drawn from his dimensions. (Figure 4 Page 129). Nowhere is he specific in giving the exact height of the stage. Between 4 and 5 feet is as far as he comes, always insisting that $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet was the height above the ground level because this was the height of the foundation and the necessary under-structure and the stage was level with these. Because he sticks to this, he is reduced to the unlikely business of excavating the marshy floor of the playhouse to slope from all sides to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet to give a stage 4 feet high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to give one 5 feet high.

It seems far more likely that a frame like that of a Roman arena was built on the one foot foundation called for in the Fortune Contract, and the stage 5 feet high and tiring house set within the frame on level ground and on a one foot foundation, too. The floor of this stage and tiring house would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor of the first gallery, and it would seem to be far more feasible that the floor level of the frame was built up $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet than that the swampy floor of the entire theatre was excavated to slope to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in order to get a stage 5 feet high. This procedure, suggested as an alternative to Adams', would leave the floor of theatre level, afford space under the stage which would make the trap quite available and have the advantage of being readily convertible to a sports arena should the need arise, all without the extensive excavations which Adams says were necessary. Furthermore, Thomas Platter's contemporary reference to "level standing" is more acceptable than if the standees had been standing on a slope.

"The places are so built, that they play on a raised platform, and every one can well see it all. There are, however, separate galleries and there one stands more comfortably and moreover can sit, but one pays more for it. Thus anyone who remains on the level standing pays only one English penny: ..." Quoted in Chambers, II, 365.



Richard III III iii
on 12' upper stage

Figure 4

Adams dismisses the problem of drainage much too lightly, too. If one were to assume that the rain water which fell on the uncovered yard would run down the sloping floor to its lowest point, the problem of raising it 2½ feet to drain it out into the ditch which had been dug in the marsh which surrounded the theatre would have been difficult, and to have kept it out of the large cellar below the stage, impossible. "Hell" in this playhouse would have been very damp, and would, in fact, have resembled a large swimming bath. (Adams' admission, p.126, that his Globe's "Hell", "was not remarkable for dryness", is an understatement.)

It has been necessary to deal at such length with Adams' treatment of the height of the stage in order to see quite clearly that his entire postulation of the tiring house is erroneous. I do not know what the tiring house was like, but I do not think that Adams has any evidence for his dogmatic statements that it was as he suggests, nor do I agree with Adams' supporters that his should be the plan used for rebuilding the Globe.

I am certainly not suggesting that I have a plan that should be followed, but pursuing the idea that the stage and tiring house were up "within the frame", retaining the proportions of the Fortune and Contract, leaving the floor level and the space under the stage unexcavated, the cross section would be that shown in Figure 5, Page 132. The second level of the tiring house, the upper playing space, would be the same height as the second gallery, 5 feet above the ground level, 12 feet above the floor of the first gallery and but 8 feet above the main stage. As far as the first Globe plays are concerned, there was no need for a playing space on the level of the third gallery. Whether or not there was one is, I think, impossible to

say without knowing more about the "tiréing howse sett within the fframe".

In the section headed, "The Stage Curtains", Adams flatly refuses to accept the absence of curtains in the Swan drawing, but feels that, "The case for stage curtains is not weakened by this omission; the accuracy of the drawing is." (p.136) This attitude would rule out both Chambers' statement on the validity of the Swan drawing (quoted above, p.26) and Reynolds' opinion that the drawing was accurate and that, ". . . instead of a permanently placed stage, a structural part of the theatre, was there perhaps a curtained framework easily removable, and so not used in all plays and, as it happened, not present on the Swan stage at the time of DeWitt's visit?" (Reynolds, p. 132)

Apart from the Swan picture which he rejects, Adams uses the Roxana, Messalina and The Wits drawings, plus a Cavalier cartoon, all invalid here in that they range in date from 1632 to 1662, to support his thesis. "It is to the plays, however, that one must turn for most of the information about curtains." he continues, (p.137) and then turns to around 36 plays giving examples of curtains being used in various ways, but of the 36, only one, The Devil's Charter, is a first Globe play. Aside from the fact that its "augmented" nature makes the stage direction of this play highly suspect, any curtain scene in it could have been played with a temporary, curtained framework, or a curtain placed over one of the stage doors.

The plays indicate no need for a curtain on the upper playing space at the first Globe. Adams' evidence for its use there is to take every direction such as "Enter Aloft" to mean that the characters were discovered on the stage

A cross section diagram based on the dimensions I have suggested is included Fig.5, p.132.

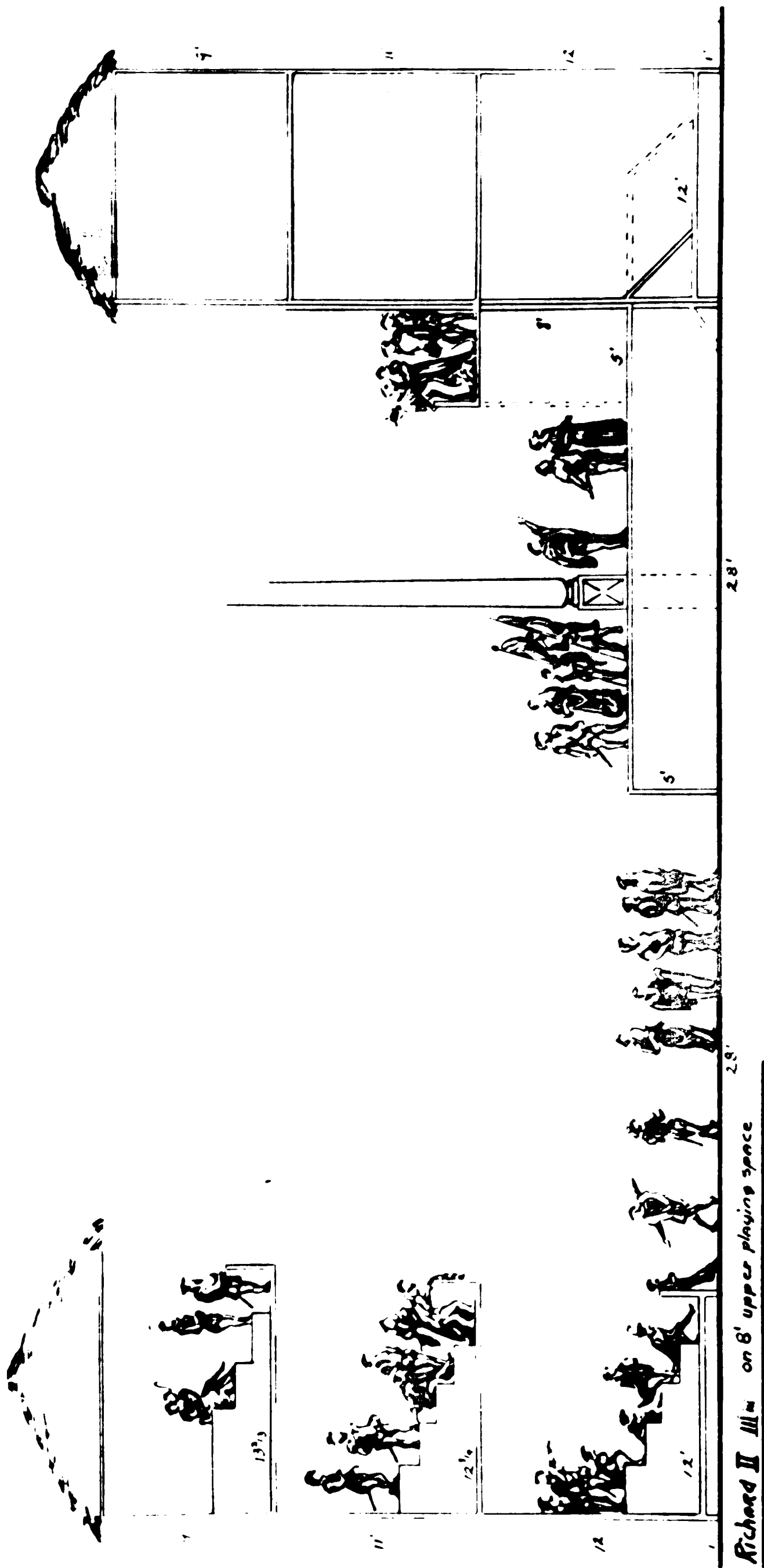


Figure 5

by the opening of curtains. He has used but one first Globe play, Titus Andronicus, with the direction "Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft" as evidence of curtains on the upper playing space. (I, i)

Adams next investigates the problem of stage doors and concludes that there were two in the first Globe leading from the frame of the theatre to the stage. "References to them occur in such abundance that it is needless to supply examples here." (p.145) He finds need for a third entrance in some plays and uses the inner stage curtains. As to the doors' appearance, he thinks they were 5 feet wide and 8 or 9 feet high, solidly made, in one piece, flat topped, hinged so as to swing inwards and conceal the tiring house interior and that each door had a knocker but no locks.

The first Globe plays do refer to doors. All the plays could have been staged with two doors which could have been exactly like those pictured in DeWit's drawing. To say, as Adams does, that they needed to be 5 feet wide so as to admit chariots and, "even a stage chariot has to be almost 4 feet wide," (p.147) is very slender evidence for the width of the doors, for there are (and could have been) stage chariots, convincing ones, only 2 feet wide. At all events, there are no chariots in the first Globe plays.

If the doors had been similar to those in the drawing of the Swan, each section about 2 feet wide, an adequate width for staging the first Globe plays would have existed. Those would have been of more than average height, too. A door 8 feet in height would, in all likelihood, have been an impossibility on the first Globe stage, and one 6 feet high would have been "of more than average height" judging from those existing in what remains of Elizabethan domestic architecture. From 6 to 7 feet high would have served.

Probably they were solidly made and may or may not have had knockers. That they were 5 feet wide, 9 feet in height, in one piece, flat topped, hinged to swing inwards, is all most doubtful, and I would be inclined to accept De Wit's drawing in preference to Adams' rather dubious reasoning.

As to the prompter's wicket, no first Globe play specifically calls for one such as Adams declares was there. Had there been one, it is possible that the prompter may have used it as Adams suggests.

Adams next labours to prove that the first Globe had two posts in front of each stage door. His examples are not very convincing, and certainly the first Globe plays could have been staged without such posts.

Adams' Chapter VI, "The Tiring-House: First Level", is one of the most important, for it deals with the "study", its size, shape, use of hangings, and the evidence that it had a rear wall door, window and trap doors in its floor and ceiling. Since it is the section of the stage on which all the rest depends, I have chosen it for detailed examination, both of the author's method and the evidence he cites.

The number of plays cited, 224 in this one chapter, is impressive but, because we are never told exactly what the author is trying to do, is of little use.

In examining Adams' evidence I have first checked the dates of publication and production of the plays he cites and then the auspices under which they were produced so as to determine the theatre in which they appeared and to which the stage directions probably refer. A play produced after 1608-9 under auspices other than those of the King's cannot afford valid evidence of the structure of the first Globe. But whenever the play was first produced at the Globe between 1599 and 1608, I have examined Adams' reference further to see if it is a stage direction or a setting of the dramatic scene, explicit or implicit in the dialogue. I propose to distinguish these as "literal", (from stage directions) and "dramatic" (from verbal scene setting explicit and implicit in the dialogue).

Adams' main points in this chapter are found in the following excerpts:

"Once those in charge of designing the Globe tiring-house broke with the past and installed stage doors in the flanking bays of the scenic wall, they were free to expand the opening of the inner stage up to 23 feet in width--the distance between the fixed corner posts of the playhouse frame. The effects of this expansion were revolutionary. What in earlier

playhouses had been essentially an appendage to the outer platform became an entity. What had been an alcove became a full stage." (p.167)

and

"After 1599 the range of inner-stage settings began to expand and the proportion of the inner- to outer-stage scenes to rise. Now interior scenes could compete in effectiveness with exterior scenes, and hence the tendency of the drama to move indoors was accelerated. The greater visibility of all parts of the enlarged rear stage gave rise to dramatic activity involving interior doors, windows, and other fittings comparable to activity on the outer stage. Furthermore, the way was opened for variable, realistic scenery comparable to that used in later theatres having a proscenium-type stage." (p.168)

The "Evidence" for these statements is found in Chapter V, where Adams says:

"But in the last decade of the 16th century, while the drama and the playhouse together grew in importance and splendour, the actors' need for a larger and more resourceful stage outpaced in any one theatre the need for a larger auditorium." (p.133)

"When the Globe was erected in 1599 the decision evidently was taken to make all three levels of the tiring-house wider by one bay on both sides, and of course, to widen the platform correspondingly." (p.133)

"Because the playhouse frame was octagonal the flanking sections formed a wide angle with the middle section, a fact that contributed a new range of flexibility and realism to the staging of plays." (p.134)

"The facade of the tiring-house differed from its model, a short row of London houses, mainly in having upper and lower curtains suspended in the middle." (p.135)

"Flanking the lower-stage curtains, and placed in the two oblique walls of the tiring-house, was a pair of large doors. References to them occur in such abundance that it is needless to supply examples here." (p.145)

If the need for a more resourceful stage was felt in the 1590's it is strange that the extant first Globe plays show so little need for one. This, of course, may be because so many of these plays are by Shakespeare, who shows no inclination to limit the setting of his action to effects

achieved by carpentry. As Granville-Barker says,

"... and it may even be that Shakespeare minimised such localisation as his theatre did afford him to give the play spaciousness of action, and to magnify his characters the more in isolating them from needless detail of circumstance."¹

For the decision which Adams says was "evidently" made when the Globe was erected in 1599, the "evidence" is missing. There was undoubtedly a gradual development in building at this time, but one of the interesting things about the contracts for the Fortune and Hope theatres is the degree to which they depend upon tradition--upon previous buildings of similar purpose--and upon the practical carpenter, rather than upon the supposed demands of the playwrights.

The octagonal playhouse frame is logically arrived at by Adams, but, as has been pointed out earlier, is factually suspect.

For curtains above, there is no evidence in the first Globe plays. For curtains below, for which there is evidence, that evidence is insufficient to make their central location certain.

The references to the two doors are just that--two doors. No reference mentions their position except that they were "at opposite ends", or simply, "opposite". Such phrases are capable of varying interpretations.

Adams calls the "revolutionary" inner stage the "study" because of the stage direction in Doctor Faustus by Marlowe, published 1604, acted ca. 1588 under the auspices of the Admiral's Men:

"Enter Faustus in his study".

Adams says this direction, "May be said to have inaugurated the practice of standardized inner stage settings." (p.169)

Here "study" must describe the "scene" and not a structural area of the stage any more than "his garden" or "his orchard" would have done. ("The" study would have strengthened

¹Granville-Barker, H., Prefaces to Shakespeare First Series, p.221.

Adams' argument.) Among the other plays which Adams cites to illustrate reference to the inner playing space as the "study" is Hamlet, Q., scene vi. The citation is so worded that one is led to assume a stage direction similar to the one in Doctor Faustus. The actual reference is in the text. Corambis says:

"The Prince walkes here in the galery
There let Ofelia walke untill hee comes:
Yourselfe and I will stand close in the study,
There shall you heare. . . ."

Can it be that Adams asks his reader to believe that in referring to "the study" Corambis is referring to as architectural feature of the playhouse? I refuse to believe it until there is corroborating evidence of characters referring to the "tiring house", "upper stage", or "trap-door". Why does Corambis call the place where Hamlet is to walk "the galery" if he means the outer stage? Why doesn't Adams, in turn, refer to the outer stage, or wherever he he thinks Hamlet did walk, as "the galery"?

Of the "settings" which Adams lists as usually set in the inner stage (i.e. study, tent, tomb, cave, cell, etc.) perhaps "study" would be the best if we need a new name for the space, but why not use the accepted phrase which describes its structural features rather than merely one of its possible dramatic uses? "The place behind the curtains", which Adams mentions as an old name for it, "the curtained space", or "the inner stage" seem more descriptive.

Among the 14 plays cited as imitations of the Doctor Faustus scene only four are from the first Globe repertory.

Satiromastix, I, ii. The reference (Q 1602 - B₄), "Horrace sitting in a study behinde a curtaine. . . ." has been discussed in the section on "The Curtained Space," page.62.

Thomas Lord Cromwell III, i. This must be an incorrect reference; the scene Adams refers to is clearly an exterior scene. The indication of setting is contained in the lines (Q 1602 - C_{2v}):

"Content thee man, here set up these two billes,
And let us keepe our standing on the bridge:
The fashion of this country is such,
If any stranger be oppressed with want
To write the matter of his miserie,
And such as are disposed to succor him
Will doe it, what hast thou set them vp?
One stands at one end
and one at tother."

It is not possible to tell from the evidence what, if any, structure may have been used to represent the ~~represent~~ the bridge in this scene, but certainly there is no reference to "the study" and no need to use the inner-stage.

Titus Andronicus V, ii. Here is the confusing reference discussed in the section on the Upper Playing Space, pages 89-90. Tamora and her sons knock at Titus' study and subsequently he opens his study door and answers them from above. Certainly this is not evidence of a standardized relationship between references to "studies" and a particular structural area of the playhouse.

The Devil's Charter I, iv and IV, i. There is nothing in I, iv which requires that the scene be played in an area separate from the outer stage. IV, i has the very specific direction, "Alexander commeth upon the stage out of his study," after part of the scene has been played in Alexander's study. The final scene of the play, not cited by Adams, has similar action. All this is discussed in the section on The Curtained Space, pages 65-7.

Three of the plays cited by Adams date from the first Globe period, but were performed by children's companies at private theatres:

Histrionomastix by Marston, published 1610, acted 1599. Chambers (IV, 17) thinks the original was a University or Inns of Court production. The 1599 production was Marston's revival of the earlier play, produced at either Blackfriar's or Paul's.

Law Tricks by John Day, published 1608, acted 1604-7 by the Children of the King's Revels at Whitefriars.

Woman Hater by Beaumont, published 1607, acted 1605-6 by the Children of Paul's in the Song School.

Two plays are both outside the period under discussion and from the repertory of other companies:

The Massacre at Paris by Marlowe, the quarto is undated, acted in 1593 by Strange's Men and in 1594 by the Admiral's. It was probably acted at the Rose by both companies.

Two Noble Ladies, an anonymous play in manuscript, acted 1619-23 probably at the Red Bull.

Four plays were acted by the King's Men, but all written after the first Globe had burned:

John Van Olden Barnavelt by Fletcher and Massinger, in manuscript, acted 1619.

The Staple of News by Jonson, published 1631, acted 1625-6.

Novella by Brome, published 1653, acted 1625-6.

The Woman Hater edition of 1648 says, "As it hath beene Acted by his Majesties Servants", but does not say where. Since the edition came out after even the second Globe had been destroyed, it cannot be used as valid evidence of first Globe features.

To justify his statement that "prior to Doctor Faustus the inner stage had occasionally been called 'the place behind the curtains' " (p.169) Adams cites 3 plays ranging in date from 1537 to 1589. Yet none of his references speaks of the place as "behind the curtains" and Adams' own suggestion that there is a similarity between them and the "loca" of Mediaeval Church drama is probably near the truth. His first reference is to Thersytes, acted about 1537:

"Mulciber must have a shop made in the place
and Thersites comethe before it."

To interpret this "place" as an inner stage is quite unwarrantable. These "loca" (also called mansions and in England, houses) were boxes or platforms used in the multiple stage sets of the drama of this period. Unlocalized action was performed on the "platea", "playne", or "platform", all synonymous with "place". With the passing of the miracle cycles and the development of the interlude such elaborate multiple settings were unnecessary.

Allardyce Nicoll says:

"The interludes were commonly played in the houses of the great and rich; their mise-en-scene was of the slightest, consisting rather of properties than of scenic background. In the morality called The Nature of the Four Elements (early sixteenth century) a 'hall' is definitely mentioned as the place of action, while 'dorys' (doors) are referred to in the interlude of Nature. The setting of these plays, we must presume, was merely a raised dais, probably backed by a curtain, containing movable properties such as a 'stole' (Nature), a 'thron' (The Play of the Weather), or a fireplace (Iohan Iohan). The platea, in other words exists without mansions. We do certainly find relics in these dramas of the older tradition; . . . ¹

Thus Adams' reference in Thersytes probably meant that a shop was arranged on the main platform for Mulciber during the action of the play which required it. This might also be true of Adams' second reference to Goodly Queen Hester, acted about 1561:

"Here must be prepared a banket in ye place."

Adams' third piece of evidence, Greene's Alphonsus (King) of Arragon, published 1599, acted 1587 under unknown auspices, contains several references to "the place". The line cited--1246--"in the middle of the place behind the stage" is puzzling. If a dais had been placed on the main platform it might have been referred to as the "stage". "In the center of the main platform back of the dais", would then be the interpretation.

Even if Adams' references were, as he says they are, to places "behind curtains" they could all be temporary places, closer in nature to the Mediaeval drama than to the permanent "inner stage" for which Adams is arguing.

Adams' statement "after 1620 it (the inner stage) is sometimes identified as 'the scene'" (p.169), is again unsatisfactorily supported. He refers, for example, to two plays, The Merry Beggars, I, i; and The Jovial Crew, I, i. I cannot identify a play entitled The Merry Beggars and assume that this is a repetition of the same reference,

¹ Nicoll, A., Development of the Theatre p.72.

since The Jovial Crew is subtitled The Merry Beggars.

The Jovial Crew by Brome, first published 1652, acted about 1641 by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit. This is so long after 1620 that theatre conventions had changed and a reference to "scene" in this play would have little bearing on what the Elizabethan dramatists called the inner stage.

Monsieur Thomas by Fletcher, first published 1639, acted 1610-16 by the Queen's Revels or Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Porter's Hall in Blackfriars. Revived by the King's Men at "the Private House in Blacke Fryers", transferred by the Lord Chamberlain's order to the Cockpit managers, August, 1639. Revived again by the King's Men in 1661. (Chambers, III, 228) Any reference to "scene" may have been literal since it could have come from a private theatre production. It would have no connection with the inner stage at the first Globe.

The Pilgrim Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted by the King's Men at Court 1621-2. If acted in a theatre, it would have been the second Blackfriars or second Globe. Whatever a play published 26 years after it was first acted suggests as to the use of terms has little bearing on practice at the Globe before 1608 or even to the theatre of 1620-25, as Adams' statement seems to suggest.

The Siege of Rhodes by Davenant, published 1656, staged "at the back of Rutland House in Aldergate Street", according to the title page, and later at the Cockpit or Phoenix. The play "made a representative by the Art of Prospective in Scenes", and Nicoll refers to it as the play which "gave English audiences their first taste of Italian opera, that type of play which, both in France and Italy, had done so much for the encouraging of scenic effect."¹ Adams cannot expect us to interpret "scene" as used here by Davenant to mean "inner stage" or "study". Rutland House was a residential mansion and Davenant was bemoaning the fact that the section he used for the stage was so small, and that the "scenes" (not scene) were so confined.

On the basis of this evidence can Adams say that when these dramatists were referring to "scene" or "scenes" they meant the "study"?

The second section of Adams' Chapter VI, "The Size and Shape of the 'Study'", gives the exact dimensions he assigns to the Globe's inner stage. As stated before, his evidence

¹Nicoll, A., Development of the Theatre, p.157

is drawn from his own earlier assumptions:

"But the Globe inner stage differed radically from that of the Theatre in the width of its opening. With the stage doors now transferred to the flanking bays, the inner stage could be 23 feet in width." (p.171)

How do we know that The Theatre had an inner stage? How do we arrive at its dimensions? How do we know that the stage doors were placed in the flanking bays at the Globe? In every statement are more assumptions.

Adams arrives at dimensions for the inner stage of The Theatre, by assuming that The Theatre's frame was identical with that used later for the Globe and by placing The Theatre's inner-stage in this frame and not in a separate tiring-house. These may easily be false hypotheses since so little is known about The Theatre. Adams supports his assumption of an oblique position of the problem in The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouse (pp. 22-8), but on page 24 Lawrence writes:

"Definite instructions for entrance by opposite (oblique) doors are not to be found, I think, much before the close of the Jacobean period." (italics mine).

Since Adams bases so much on this section of Lawrence's book it seemed wise to investigate it thoroughly. Lawrence arrives at the conclusion that a reference to "opposite" doors meant "oblique" doors by an involved process of reasoning.

He begins by citing The Virgin Martyr by Dekker, published 1622, acted at the Red Bull about 1620. III, iii has a stage direction for entrance at "opposite doors".

Lawrence's next references are from "Shirley's Cockpit plays" of 1625-36, and Ford's The Lady's Trial, licensed in May 1638. He continues by saying that:

"Other evidence in Ford confirms the inference already deducible relative to the disposition of the doors at the old Drury Lane playhouse.

It is reasonably assured that, no matter what the situation of the normal entering doors, and no matter which the theatre, they were always surmounted by balconies or windows. In Ford's Love's Sacrifice, another Caroline Cockpit play, there is a situation which calls for a balcony over an oblique door. In Act V we get the opening direction, 'Enter above, Fiormonda, a Curtaine drawne, below is discovered Biancha in her night attire, leaning on a cushion at a table, holding Fernando by the hand.' It is obvious that Fiormonda could not have witnessed the action taking place below had she been stationed at the extreme back of the stage." (pp.24-5)

Lawrence now takes "opposite doors" to mean "oblique doors".

To the references to opposite doors Lawrence next adds Cockpit references to opposite sides, which, since they are in the same theatre "we cannot but assume" mean simply, opposite doors. He cites a number of references and concludes:

"That being so, we are at once afforded a clue to the provision of opposite doors much earlier in the century, seeing that we get directions in plays of its opening decade, not only for entry at opposite sides but--what surely means the same thing--at opposite ends. Since the earliest of these occur in private theatre plays, one becomes disposed to believe that the principle of opposite doors was of private-theatre origin and dated from the closing years of the sixteenth century." (p.25)

From the "opposite sides" and "opposite ends" of the private theatres the parallel is now extended to "the other end" in the stage direction of Heywood's If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody:

"Enter at the other end of the stage Hobs in gown and slippers." Now the Red Bull has oblique doors; for "the other end" = "opposite ends" = "opposite sides" = "opposite doors" = "oblique doors". We are then forced, "by a parity of reasoning", to conclude that the Globe also had oblique doors. (p.27) As proof of this Lawrence states that Sejanus, V, x refers to entry on opposite sides. The quarto of 1605 of this play has no scene divisions and no stage directions! In the modern texts

I have examined V, x has no indication of two groups of characters entering simultaneously. The scene to which Lawrence refers must be V,vii, for the opening direction in the edition I used (Everyman) reads:

"Enter Terentius, Minutius, Laco, Cotta, Latiaris and Pomponius; Regulus, Trio, and others, on different sides."

Other modern editors may use "opposite" instead of "different". In Q 1605 this direction (L3r) reads:

"Pompomius, Regulus, Trio, etc."

The Folio of 1616 adds, in the right margin, "To the rest". Since Terentius, etc. obviously enter at the same time, the words "to the rest" suggest that two groups enter from different doors, but not, I think, any more than that.

Lawrence also refers to the stage direction in Troilus and Cressida:

"As Troilus is going out, enter from the other side, Pandarus".

Lawrence's parallels are interesting, but they hardly seem conclusive. If the playwright is thinking in terms of the main stage area, why should he not write "enter from the opposite side" as well as "by the opposite door"? If a play was to be acted on the rectangular Swan stage, how else could the direction have been given?

Lawrence's third reference to a first Globe play is from The Merry Devil of Edmonton, V, ii. The scene:

"represents two neighbouring inns whose signs have either been mischievously taken down or been transposed. We have to assume that the Inns faced each other, instead of standing cheek by jowl, as the Host of the George refers to his trade rival as 'mine overthwart neighbor'." (p. 27)

The N.E.D. defines "overthwart" as meaning "side to side". The doors of the inns, then should stand in a relationship to each other similar to that of the doors of the Swan stage, and not obliquely facing.

To Lawrence's credit it must be said that he is not

at all dogmatic or positive in conclusions. He ends his discussion of the doors by saying:

" . . . now that I am compelled to sum up, I can give nothing better than my impressions. It would appear to me that opposite doors were first made use of when that most famous of all private theatres, the second Blackfriars, was opened, and that little by little the public theatres fell in line. Unfortunately we do not know exactly when that event happened: it was certainly not later than the autumn of 1600, and it may have been as early as 1598. If the earlier date could be established, there would be good grounds for believing that the Globe was equipped with opposite doors from its inception." (p.28)

Obviously Lawrence does not say that the first Globe had oblique doors, yet Adams leaves his reader to believe that Lawrence was positive in his statement that it did have. Hypothesis and speculation are legitimate in research, and valuable as long as the process is traceable. Adams never explains where his oblique doors come from, and yet the entire structure of his Globe is based on this one feature. With a "once-upon-a-time" simplicity, "once those in charge of designing the Globe tiring-house. . . installed stage doors in the flanking bays" becomes the foundation of a process described by Granville-Barker as follows:

"He (Adams) shows that the designers could widen their inner stage to 23 feet, at once concludes that they did, and sets something like a new craft developing on that mere assumption." (italics mine)

The next section of Chapter VI discusses "The Visibility of Study Scenes". Here the "brilliant light" Adams claims for the Globe inner stage depends on his assumption about the 23 foot opening. Since there is no evidence to support the assumption, Adams hardly seems justified in attempting to discredit Chambers' statement:

" . . . the tendency of the early seventeenth century was to confine its (the inner stage's) use to action which could be kept shallow, or

; "Modern Language Review", xxxix, (1944), pp.296-9.

for which obscurity was appropriate (III, 120)
Contrary to Adams' statement, the facts are not "patently otherwise" and without "disregarding both logic and facts", one can suggest "that inner stages were too distant, too obscure, and too dark for use in important scenes." (p.176)

In the first of two sections dealing with the use of hangings in the inner stage, Adams says:

"... the inner stages of the Globe had flexible 'walls' at the sides and rear which, like the 'wings', 'flats', and 'back-drops' of a picture stage setting, could be modified or changed to harmonize with the given needs of a scene. The evolution of interior 'walls' formed of nondescript hangings into realistic scenery was by no means complete at the close of the era, but it had made considerable progress toward the degree of completeness realized in Restoration theatres. Space in which to trace this evolution in detail from 1576 to 1642 is lacking here, but certain portions of the evidence are relevant to our present investigation. I shall begin by showing that the Globe inner stages were enclosed on the two sides by cloth hangings and at the rear by a rigid partition having in the middle a curtained aperture flanked by a window and a practicable door." (p. 177)

Evidence for the positive establishment of these realistic features at the Globe should be unimpeachable, but in examining Adams' evidence one becomes increasingly puzzled as to what constitutes the principle on which his supportive evidence is selected. His method seems to be to cite any play that refers to the feature he is examining. The name of the play and the scene-reference are given with varying degrees of accuracy, but seldom does Adams say in what theatre the play was presented, or when. This is unsatisfactory since the references are intended as evidence of the structural features of one particular theatre whose existence was limited to the years 1599-1613, or that of its successor which existed until 1644.

In this particular section Adams cites references from 12 plays of which none belongs to the period of the first Globe. Of the 12, 7 have no connection with either Globe:

Law Tricks by Day, published 1608, acted 1604-7 by the Children of the Revels at Blackfriars.

The Grateful Servant by Shirley, published 1630, acted 1629 by Queen Henrietta's Company at the Cockpit.

Holland's Leaguer by Marmion, published 1632, acted 1631 by Prince Charles' Men at Salisbury Court.

The Traitor by Shirley, published 1635, acted 1635 by Queen Henrietta's Company at the Cockpit, protected for Beeston's Boys 1639. (Licensed 1631 for an unknown company.)

The Lady of Pleasure by Shirley, published 1637, acted 1635 by Queen Henrietta's Company at the Cockpit.

The Nightwalker by Fletcher, published 1640, acted 1614 (?) by the Queen's Revels or Lady Elizabeth's at the Cockpit.

The Cunning Lovers by Brome, published 1654, acted by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit.

The other 5 plays are known to have been in the repertory of the King's Men between 1620 and 1641. Some were acted at Blackfriars, they may all have been acted at the second Globe, but none were performed at the first Globe. They are:

The City Match by Mayne, published 1639, "Presented to the King and Queene at White-Hall. Acted since at Black-Friers by His Maiesties Servants", says the title page. 1637 is considered its production date, though Adams says, (p.179) " .. a Globe and Blackfriars play of 1631 .. " The reference is to figures in the hangings, but they did not need to be inner stage hangings.

The Custom of the Country by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted around 1620. Here a character enters a room in the dark and refers to "the hangings".

The Woman's Prize by Fletcher (and Beaumont?), published 1647, acted under unknown auspices between 1604 and 1617. It belonged to the King's Men by 1633. One of the characters in the play, Maria, says (III,iii):

"For those hangings
Let 'em be carried where I gave appointment
They are too base for my use, and bespeak
New Pieces of the Civil Wars of France,
Let 'em be large and lively, and all silk work,
The borders Gold."

Of this passage Adams says:

"In the houses of the well-to-do the hangings were frequently changed, e. g. to honour a guest. In the theatre changes were possible also, though not during the course of a scene. Such a change is implied in The Woman's Prize, . . ." (p.179)

While arrases of some sort were undoubtedly used in the theatres, it does not seem likely that they were altered in literal response to each textual reference. In the same play Maria says (III, iv):

"Sirha, up to th' chamber
And take the Hangings down, and see the Linnen
Packt up, and sent away within this half hour...
Alass, we are undone else."

Adams makes no comments on this passage but the implication is that the upper stage (the chamber) was hung with curtains which the servant took down and packed along with the bed linen. The audience has not seen the hangings in either reference, nor would any of the action be visible!

Love's Cure by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1625 under unknown auspices, property of the King's Men in 1641. The play has a reference very similar to that in The Woman's Prize, that is, to the changing of the hangings in a room that is not seen by the audience.

The City Madam by Massinger, published 1658, "As it was acted at the private House in Black Friars with great applause." says the title page. Licensed for the company in 1632.

In discussing these plays Adams seems to mistake dramatic descriptions for literal stage directions and to assume more properties and changes than the evidence suggests. In many cases his conjectural stagings are interesting, but they are only conjectures and one regrets that they are presented so dogmatically and accepted so unquestioningly. He postulates a basic stage and suggests a possible staging of a scene upon it; then, on the basis of the suggested staging, elaborates the postulated stage. He seldom suggests an alternative to his staging. Holding a different interpretation of the

existing evidence I keep wanting to suggest alternative stagings, to point Adams' error in method. I do not find the existing evidence conclusive. Adams' staging may be approximately correct, his supporting evidence is none-the-less inadequate. He concludes the section under discussion (on hangings in the study), for example, by saying:

"The directions given in certain of these quotations were not, of course, carried out before the eyes of the spectators, since changes in those inner-stage hangings which formed a screen between the audience and the 'wings' had to be effected while the outer-stage curtains were closed; but the passages as a whole reflect a normal and familiar custom both in the home and in the theatre. The point I wish to emphasize is that changes in the rear-stage hangings could be effected between scenes, and from its supply of arras the company could lay out sets appropriate to each play." (p.181)

There is no evidence to support such a conclusion.¹

¹In his article, Original Staging of King Lear in John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies, pp. 315-35, a further example of Adams' use of "the supply of arrasses" at the Globe is to be found. There, in speaking of the castle scenes, he says, "The scenic properties now visible formed a standard Globe setting. Traverses (akin to 'flats') painted in imitation of castle walls are suspended at the rear of the study (and at the side as well?). In the middle of the rear traverse the usual curtained opening (measuring 5-6 feet in width) is supplied with a practicable door for use as the castle gate." (p.320) Of the farmhouse (III, vi) he writes, "The meanest hangings in the Globe property rooms will serve for the visible walls." (p.325) Of the heath scene (IV,vi) he says: "In this justly famous scene Shakespeare employed a stage set that served him well in several plays. In its simplest form the set consisted of painted hangings suspended across the rear wall of the study and a few property trees at either end. This arrangement created a glade with entrances on opposite sides. (The set appears in many other plays produced early and late by the Globe Company.)" (p. 329) The plays which Adams lists as using the set are Satiromastix viii; The Merry Devil of Edmonton IV, i; The Malcontent III, ii; and The Atheists Tragedy. It is interesting to compare Adams' staging of King Lear as set forth in this article with that of W.W.Greg in The Staging of King Lear in Review of English Studies, Vol. xvi, 63, July 1940. Greg concludes: "Now, all this means that the play was written, not with the ordinary theatre in view, but for a plain stage with no alcove and probably no balcony, and

that the act and scene divisions preserved in the Folio were designed for a similar stage and presumably for the same occasion."

In the next section, "The Hangings in the Rear Wall of the Study". Adams cites four plays to illustrate "freedom to approach unseen to the back of some property set in the study against the rear hangings", but none of the plays has any connection with the first Globe. They are:

Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay by Greene, published 1594, acted 1589 by Strange's (?) at the Rose. The stage direction quoted by Adams (p.182) reads:

"Heer the Head speakes and a lightening flasheth forth, and a hand appeares that breaketh down the Head with a hammer."

Now why are we asked to believe that the head was set against the back wall of an inner stage? Couldn't a hand appear from behind a curtain on any other part of the stage, the main stage, perhaps? On the appearance of a hand, Adams is asking us to believe in the existence of hangings on the rear wall of an inner stage in a theatre in which the play was not acted.

Alphonsus King of Aragon by Greene, published 1599, acted 1587 by an unknown company. The direction at line 1246 reads:

"Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the place behind the Stage, out of the which, cast flames of fire, drums rumble within...Cast flames of fire forth of the brazen Head...Speak out of the brazen head."

This direction was discussed while examining Adams' evidence for the "study". There is nothing here to indicate that the head sat against the rear wall of the study. If the location of the voice is the problem, it could have come from off-stage and seem to have been coming from the head, it could have come from under a covered table on which the head sat, it could have come from the stage trap over which the head was placed on a table.

St. Patrick for Ireland by Shirley, published 1640, acted by the King's Men or by Ogilby's Men at the Werbrugh Street Theatre in Dublin for whom the play was written. It could not have been written for, or staged, at the first Globe. The direction is "An altar Discovered", but there is no indication that a character approaches "unseen to the back" of the altar.

Two Noble Kinsmen by Fletcher and Shakespeare, published 1634, "Presented at the Black-friers by the Kings Maiesties servants,..." says the title page. Aside from having no connection with the Globe, there is no evidence in the scene cited (V, 1) that anyone approached "unseen to the back of some property set in the study against the rear hangings."

Adams cites numerous references to arrases, four of which are from the first Globe plays:

The Merry Wives of Windsor III,iii, and

I Henry IV, iv both have scenes in which Falstaff hides behind an arras, but there is no necessity for its being on the wall of the inner stage. As suggested earlier on, either scene could have used an arras hung over a stage door, or even on the wall of a theatre like the Swan. A large bulge in the arras would not have been out of place dramatically in either of these scenes.

The Merchant of Venice II, vii does not need hangings at the rear of the study for the casket scene. The staging Adams suggests (pp. 186-7) is based entirely on his own personal opinion that the Belmont scenes were inner stage scenes. Other scholars have cited the scene as evidence of a curtained space in which the caskets could have been placed while staging the scene on the main stage. It would have been possible to place the caskets in a curtained cupboard which could have been carried on to either the outer or the inner stage (had there been one).

The Winter's Tale final scene, Hermione is revealed. Of this scene Adams writes:

"Today it must be a matter of opinion whether the statue, so minutely particularized in the dialogue, could in Shakespeare's time have been displayed to better advantage in one place rather than the other." (p.188)

the two places suggested being behind the curtains on the study wall or behind a temporary curtain. This is the only time that Adams suggests that the staging of most of the scenes he investigates is "a matter of opinion".

Macbeth IV, i, a scene which Adams says has been "heretofore a puzzle to scholars" (p.189) but is no longer puzzling. All the King's Men needed, wherever they presented this play, were, "(1) a mechanized trap for raising and lowering the cauldron, (2) a trapdoor for the three apparitions," and (3) some spectacular means of exhibiting the eight Kings to Macbeth's and also the audience's unobstructed view." (p.189) After working out a staging Adams concludes, ". . . it must seem not only possible, but probable, that the "Shew of Eight Kings" in Macbeth was staged in the manner suggested above." (p.191)

Adams' other references to hangings show the same confusion of the possible with the probable. Two are from the King's Men's repertory:

A Wife for a Month, and

The Noble Gentleman, both by Fletcher, both acted after 1620, both acted at Blackfriars but possibly at the second Globe.

Three references are to plays acted by Children's companies:

If You Know not Me, You Know Nobody by Heywood, published 1605, acted 1605 by the Queen's Revels, probably at the Curtain.

Cupid's Whirligig by Sharpham, published 1607, acted 1607 by the King's Revels at Whitefriars (?).

The Turk by Mason, published 1610, acted 1607-8 by the King's Revels at Whitefriars (?).

Four plays cited by Adams in this section have no record of performance. They are:

Orgula by "W. L." (William Leonard?), published 1658

Andromena by Shirley, published 1660

The Jew's Tragedy by Hemming, a closet drama, published 1662.

Albovine by Davenant, published 1672.

The section dealing with the door and window in the rear wall of the "study" is also supported by unconvincing evidence. On the statement:

"In the majority of inner-stage scenes after 1600 a rear door and window could be used to advantage. . ." (p.192)

Adams postulates a door on one side of the large opening in the rear wall of the study, "of normal domestic size", and a window on the other side. The window is not described except to say that it had semi-opaque glass and was never opened. (p.196) The evidence Adams cites for these features is from the following plays:

I Promos and Cassandra by Whetstone, published 1578, according to its author, never acted. The scene (V,v) is unlocalized. It involves the cutting of Grimbail's purse while he is being shaved by Rosko. A boy is called at various times by Rosko and with the usual "anon, anon" fetches shaving water, gargles, etc. When Grimbail discovers that he has been robbed he says:

" O Leard, my purse is cutte.

Ros. When? Where?

Grim. Nowe, here.

Ros. Boye, let the doore by shutte
If it be here, we wyll straight wayes see.
Where's he that came with you?

(Q1578 - F3)

The boy is off stage at this point, and since there is no stage direction to suggest that he does anything about the order, Rosko may be making a dramatic reference to a door off-stage, not to any stage entrance.

The Bondman by Massinger, published 1624, acted by Lady Elizabeth's Company at the Cockpit in 1623. According to Adams, III, iii has "a throne-room scene requiring a rear door." It is used as evidence that the distance between the door and window in the rear wall of the study was 6 or 7 feet or large enough to permit the throne to be centred without blocking the door. Examination of the scene reveals that it is set in Cleon's house in Syracuse and has no reference to a throne. Cleon is described as "A fat impotent lord", in no sense a personage of state. The scene could have been staged on the outer stage of a public theatre, but since it was written for, and staged in, a private, roofed, theatre, it may never have been produced in a public playhouse.

The Coxcomb by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted between 1608 and 1610 with a record of a Court performance by the Queen's Revels in 1612. In 1622 the play was in possession of the King's Men. It may have been presented at the second Globe, but was essentially a private theatre play. Adams calls the scene (II,i), "a study scene at midnight" but that is his personal interpretation and the scene could well have been staged on the main stage.

Only two of the plays cited in support of a rear study door could have been written for the first Globe:

Everyman Out of His Humor V,iv. a tavern scene, which could have been played on the main stage, or, if in an inner-stage, a main stage entrance would have served.

Measure for Measure I, v. There are only four scenes in the act, so presumably Adams meant scene iv. This is the scene in the nunnery to which Lucio comes to tell Isabella of Claudio's sentence. The action is very simple and certainly could have been presented on the main stage.

The remaining references include five to plays from the King's Men's repertory, only the first of which could have been acted at the first Globe:

The Alchemist by Jonson, published 1612, acted 1610. I,1 involves action in a house. Adams' subjective choice is the inner stage.

John Van Olden Barnavelt by Fletcher and Massinger, unpublished, acted 1619.

The Island Princess by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1619-22.

Covent Garden Weeded (subtitle of The Weeding of Covent Garden ?) by Brome, published 1658, acted 1632.

The Humorous Lieutenant by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted ca. 1641.

and:

The Puritan by Middleton, published 1607, acted 1606 by the Children of Paul's at Paul's.

Sir John Oldcastle by Drayton, Hathaway, Munday and Wilson, published 1600, acted 1599 by the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

The New Academy by Brome, published 1659, acted 1628 by an unknown company.

The Strange Discovery by Gough, published 1640, a closet drama.

All the evidence Adams presents to prove the existence of a window in the rear wall of the inner stage is from the dialogue. In every case it is based on the phrase "look out" which Adams interprets as "look out of the window". In most cases it would be equally possible to open a door and look out. The references are:

Catiline by Jonson, published 1611, acted 1611 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars or first Globe. The reference (I, i) which Adams quotes, at first suggests the need for a window in that "a fiery light appears," presumably from outside because Vargunteius says:

"What light is this?
Curius, Looke forth."

But in the passage omitted by Adams is the direction, "A darkness comes over the place." In a public theatre it must have been impossible to have varied the degree of light realistically, therefore, what appear to be stage directions may easily be Jonson's additions for readers. On the stage the lines themselves may have created all the illusion there was. For example:

"The day goes back, (sic)
Or else my senses.
As at Atreus feast.

Darkness grows more and more.

The vestal flame

I think be out. (A groan of many people is heard
under ground")

The direction for the groan is expressed in dramatic terms, and the directions for the light are possibly similar. Longinus' answer to the question of its source is:

"A bloody arme it is, that holds a pine,
Lighted, aboue the Capitoll, and now,
It waues vnto us."

could have been spoken after he opened one of the doors which Catiline asked to have closed earlier in the scene.

The Alchemist and Catiline both belong to the first Globe period and were acted by the King's Men but after they were acting at the Blackfriars, too. Jonson's interests inclined toward the intellectual audiences of the Court, the Inns, and the Universities. Both plays were probably written with the private house in mind, and then, if played at the first Globe, adjusted by the actors to its facilities. The action in neither play demands a window, nor is there a technical reference, clearly distinguishable from descriptive additions for the reading public, which calls for one. Both these facts--that the plays were probably written for a private theatre, and that Jonson altered his texts for publication--weaken Adams' conclusion that the inner-stage had a window in its rear wall.

Adams' other references to the window include five King's Men's plays of much later date:

The Spanish Curate by Fletcher and Massinger, published 1647, acted 1622.

The Maid in the Mill by Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1623.

The Novella by Brome, published 1632, acted 1632.

The Country Captain (listed by Adams under its sub-title of Captain Underwit) by Cavendish and Shirley, published 1649, acted 1641.

The Parson's Wedding by Killigrew, published 1664, acted 1640-4.

The other plays are:

I Honest Whore by Dekker, published 1604, acted 1604 by Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune.

The Puritan by Middleton, published 1607, acted 1606 by the Children of Paul's at Paul's.

The Ghost, an anonymous play, published 1653, acted 1640 by Prince Charles' Men at the Fortune.

The Cunning Lovers by Brome, published 1654, acted 1637-9 by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit.

The New Academy by Brome, published 1659, acted 1628 by an unknown company.

Andromena by Shirley, published 1660, no record of performance.

Adams also calls attention to the window in the woodcut from the 1630 quarto of Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay but neglects to add the comment that this may have illustrated the story and not the staged play.

In the section of the chapter on "The Hangings at the Ends of the Study" Adams postulates oblique hangings on the side walls of the inner-stage forming wide angles with the rear wall because right angle corners would be out-side the sight lines of many of the side-gallery patrons. Adams believes the side walls were curtained so that characters could exit through side curtains when supposedly going into rooms whose position, in relation to the visible rooms of the stages, would logically be on one of the sides and not at the rear. The difficulty is that Adams' logic seems hardly a justifiable basis for reconstructing the details of a theatre whose builders may have had different ideas of what was logical. There seems to be little evidence that stage areas were real in the sense that Adams pre-supposes--let alone areas off stage.

The plays cited as having scenes involving hangings at the end of the study are:

The Honest Man's Fortune by Fletcher, Massinger and Field, published 1647, but a manuscript with the date 1624 exists. Acted 1613 by Lady Elizabeth's at Whitefriars. In III, iii, Adams places Lamira behind a side arras because she makes an aside to the audience but is neither seen nor heard by the actors in the inner-stage. The conventions surrounding the making of side remarks in the drama of this period are numerous, and one needs stronger proof than that for the feature Adams is discussing.

Volpone by Jonson, published 1607 and acted at the first Globe, III, vii, a scene between Bonario and Mosca. Mosca says:

"Sir, your father hath sent word,
It will be half an hour ere he come;
And therefore, if you please to walk the while
Into that gallery, at the upper end,
There are some books to entertain the time,
And I'll take care no man shall come unto you, sir.

Bon. Yes, I will stay there, I do doubt this fellow.

Mos. There, he is far enough, he can hear nothing,
And for his father, I can keep him off.

250 lines later it is clear that Bonario can overhear the action on the stage because he rushes into the room. It is not clear that he has been listening the entire time, and there seems no reason why he cannot exit and re-enter by a stage door.

I Henry IV, and

The Merry Wives of Windsor, the scenes used above as evidence of hangings on the back wall of the study.

Other plays cited include five King's Men's plays belonging to the period of second Blackfriars and second Globe:

Laws of Candy by Massinger, published 1647, acted 1619.

Little French Lawyer by Fletcher and Massinger, published 1647, acted 1619-22.

Women Beware Women by Middleton, published 1657, acted 1621.

The Wits by Davenant, published 1636, acted 1633-4.

The Country Girl by Brewer, published 1647, acted 1625;

four Cockpit plays:

The Bondman by Massinger, published 1624, acted 1623.

A New Way to Pay Old Debts by Massinger, published 1633, acted 1625.

The Ball by Shirley, published 1639, acted 1632.

The Lady of Pleasure by Shirley, published 1637, acted 1635:

two plays whose auspices and theatre are unknown:

The Wizard by Baylie, in manuscript, acted 1620.

The City Wit by Brome, published 1653, acted 1628;

two Red Bull plays:

The Wise Woman of Hogsdon by Heywood, published 1638, acted 1604.

The Devil's Law Case by Webster, published 1623, acted 1620;

one boy's play belonging to the Children' of Paul's and acted at Paul's:

Blurt, Master Constable by Middleton, published 1602, acted 1601;

and one play acted at Apethorpe Manor House:

The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon by Jordon, in manuscript and editions published 1657 and 1660, acted, 1641, possibly by the King's Men.

Here, as elsewhere in the book, the number of examples Adams cites seem to offer abundant proof of the existence of the feature he is examining. Anyone not widely familiar with ^{the} field would naturally assume that a play cited by title alone was presented at the first Globe, or at least at a contemporary public theatre which might be thought to have similar features. By omitting the date and auspices of first productions, Adams strengthens this impression; although the fact that he never defines his use of evidence should perhaps have made one wary. In the group of plays cited for proof of hangings at the end of the Globe study, probably only three plays were ever staged at the first Globe. Of the five possibly second Globe plays, three were not printed for thirty years after their first performances, one even after the second Globe had passed out of

existence. Yet of this evidence Adams says:

"The evidence relating to inner-stage "walls" so far presented would seem to establish for the Globe playhouse:

1. that the side walls were formed by woven, figured, or painted cloth hangings;
2. that the middle portion of the rear wall was formed by hangings;
3. that different sets of hangings could be used, and that, subject to the limitations of the playhouse supply, sets appropriate to each play and scene might be used;
4. that eavesdropping and the concealment of inanimate objects for discovery during the course of an inner-stage scene could be managed behind the rear hangings, where the action was in full view of the audience;
5. that stage business at the midale of the rear wall shows that there were hangings instead of a solid partition just there; but, none the less, entrances from the rear passage-way had to be accomplished through the visible door and not through the hangings;
6. that a door and a window, opening onto the rear passage-way and flanking the hangings referred to in 5, were appurtenances normally visible in the rear wall of the study;
7. that each side hanging was suspended in such a way as to form an oblique angle with the rear wall, thus bringing the side hanging into view of the audience and eliminating blind corners;
8. that eavesdropping took place at the side as well as at the rear hangings (but not concealment of inanimate objects), and, if the actor had earlier left the stage, his return to the side hangings usually was announced by some signal to the audience; and
9. that the passageways and "rooms" which in fact did exist beyond the side hangings were referred to and made dramatic use of, but never revealed to the audience during the course of a play." (pp.202-3)

In the section, "Supplementary Inner-Stage Hangings", Adams advances the idea that:

" . . . supplementary hangings--sometimes called 'traverses' by a few Elizabethan dramatists--were occasionally strung up in front of the rear hangings to create a recess at the back of the study, or were strung up at right angles to the rear hangings to divide the study into two or more compartments. As the latter use appears to have been the earlier, I shall discuss it first. By 1590 dramatists had already used the cloth-walled rear stage as a tent in which a king or a general near some battlefield held council, wrote dispatches, spent a ghost-haunted night, and so forth." (p.203-4)

In a footnote Adams lists four examples of his last point: Edward I, Julius Caesar, A Looking Glass for London and The Trial of Chivalry. Of these four, A Looking Glass for London and Edward I may have been acted as early as Adams says, but Julius Caesar came at least nine years after 1590 while The Trial of Chivalry was probably ten or more.¹

To examine the pertinent scenes:

Julius Caesar IV, iii, the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius. In the Folio at T 124, and in modern editions at IV, ii (not iii):

"Brut. Cassius, be content,
Speake your greefes softly, I do know you well.
Before the eyes of both our Armies heere
(Which should perceiue nothing but Loue from vs)
Let vs not wrangle. Bid them moue away:
Then in my tent Cassius enlarge your Greefes,
And I will giue you Audience".

and

" . . . let no man
Come to our Tent, till we have don our Conference"

As suggested earlier, these speeches may have set the scene within the tent with no more ado.

Richard III, V,iii. The tents in this scene were discussed in the section of "Large Properties" (p. 102). To place the rival commanders, Richard and Richmond side by side in the inner-stage instead of on opposite sides of the outer-stage in tents seems to be defeating Adams's belief in scenic realism in the Elizabethan theatre. Adams would have the tents "pitched" by simply drawing a curtain down

¹A Looking Glass for London by Greene, published 1594, acted 1590.
Edward I by Peele, published 1593, acted by an unknown company
Julius Caesar by Shakespeare, published 1623, acted 1599.
The Trial of Chivalry, anonymous, published 1605, acted 1599-1603.
- "Now the Elizabethan drama from beginning to end tended to support.

the middle of the inner-stage from back to front.

Of the other plays with tent scenes which Adams cites, two are first Globe plays:

The Devil's Charter could have used a real tent.

King Lear IV, vii (Q 1608 - K_{1v}) has no reference to a tent.

Adams' other references in this section have no connection with the first Globe. The plays are:

The Iron Age by Heywood, published 1638, acted ca.1613 at the Curtain, Red Bull and the Cockpit. (Chambers III,345)

The Amorous War by Mayne, published 1648, acted 1638 by an unknown company.

For dividing the inner-stage into rows of cells Adams cites:

I The Honest Whore by Dekker, published 1604, acted 1604 by Prince Henry's Men at the Fortune.

For dividing the inner-stage into rows of shops facing a street two first Globe plays are cited:

Every Man Out of His Humor IV, iii-v. There must be some error here for scene iii is "Another room in the same (Deliro's House)", Scene iv, "Puntarvolo's Lodgings", Scene v, "A Room in Deliro's House". There is nothing in the action to lead one to believe that all three scenes were set simultaneously, nor is there in any of them references to shops, or rows of shops.

Merry Devil of Edmonton V, i and V, iii, but again, there must be an error somewhere. Scene one of Act V is set in an inn, the act has no third scene.

The other plays cited as having from one to three shops in a row in the inner stage are:

Two Lamentable Tragedies by Yarrington, published 1601, acted 1594 by the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

Shoemaker's Holiday by Dekker, published 1600, acted 1599 by the Admiral's Men at the Fortune.

The Roaring Girl by Dekker and Middleton, published 1611, acted ca. 1610 by Prince's Men at the Fortune.

stage illusion by scenic realism." Adams, J. C., Original Staging of King Lear in Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies p.330.

Greene's Tu Quoque by Cooke, published 1614, acted 1614
by the Queen's Men at the Red Bull (?).

Bartholomew Fair by Jonson, published 1631, acted 1614
by Lady Elizabeth's Servants at Whitefriars or the Hope.

Anything for a Quiet Life by Midaletton, published, 1622,
acted 1619-21 by an unknown company.

New Academy by Brome, published 1659, acted 1628 by an unknown company.

Mad Couple Well Matched by Brome, published 1653, acted 1636 by Queen Henrietta's Company at the Cockpit.

Here again the late dates of publication and the companies that acted the plays put most of them outside our consideration, but more important is a consideration of the interpretation Adams gives to the stage directions. Actually, only one interpretation is given and tents, cells, or shops are always placed in the inner-stage.

Adams thinks that the Globe inner-stage was sometimes separated by a traverse or curtain drawn from side to side, but low enough for a character to look over. He cites seven plays as bearing evidence of this traverse division. One of the plays is a first Globe play:

Volpone V, ii where Volpone says:

"I'll get up,
 Behind the cortine, on a stoole and
 harken;
 Sometime, peepe over; see how they doe
 looke;
 With what degrees, their bloud doth
 leave their faces.

Volpone
peepes
from
behinde a
traverse"

In the following scene Volpone has many lines all in the nature of asides to the audience, unheard by several characters who think he is dead. The N.E.D. defines "traverse" as "a screen placed crosswise, a small compartment shut off or enclosed by a curtain or screen, a closet." Such a property would have been very useful at a theatre that

did not have an inner stage, the Swan, for example. Had there been one at the Globe, it would have simplified the staging of this scene and made the resultant action even more effective than it would have been if Volpone had been back in the inner-stage.

The other plays cited as evidence of the traverse at the Globe are:

The Woman Hater by Beaumont (and Fletcher?), published 1607, acted 1606 by the Children of Paul's at Paul's.

The White Devil by Webster, published 1612, acted 1612 by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull.

Lover's Progress (listed sub-title of The Wandering Lovers) by Fletcher and Massinger, published 1647, acted by the King's Men at Court in 1623-4.

Tale of a Tub by Jonson?, published 1640, acted 1633 by the Queen's Men at Court. Chambers does not accept this play as a revision of Jonson's play of 1596-7 which he lists as lost. The scene in this play which uses a traverse is part of a masque-like finale based on dance figures. The play was neither written for nor performed at the Globe. (Chambers III, 373)

Unfortunate Lovers by Davenant, published 1643, acted and licensed 1638 by the King's Men at Court.

The Distresses (sub-title of The Spanish Lovers) by Davenant, published 1673, acted 1639 by an unknown company. Possibly the King's Men at the second Blackfriars or second Globe.

In the section dealing with "Entering the Study from the Outer Stage", Adams again makes many arbitrary interpretations of what might have happened on an Elizabethan stage. This is borne out by his choice of the most controversial scene in Romeo and Juliet, the only first Globe play cited. I have discussed the staging of this scene (V,iii) in the section on the "Curtained Space" (pp.68-72).

The rest of the evidence for study entrances from the outer-stage is drawn from the following plays:

Queen of Corinth by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647 Registered for the King's Men in 1641, but acted as early as 1617.

Two Noble Ladies, an anonymous play in manuscript, acted 1622 at the Red Bull.

Novella by Brome, published 1653, acted 1632 by the King's Men at second Blackfriars or second Globe.

Amorous War by Mayne, published 1648, acted 1638 by an unknown company.

Goblins by Suckling, published 1646, acted 1638 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars or second Globe.

In section 10--"The Study Floor Trap"--Adams states that the Globe "study" had two hinged-door type traps, one in the floor and one in the ceiling. Three types of scene are listed by Adams as floor-trap scenes--(1.) scenes with open graves or pits, (2.) scenes with river banks and wells, and (3.) scenes with subterranean vaults and passageways.

As evidence of the use of the study floor trap as a grave, Adams cites four plays-- three of which have absolutely nothing to do with the Globe:

The Turk by Mason, published 1610, acted 1607 by the King's Revels Boys at Whitefriars.

The Queen of Corsica by Jacques, a manuscript acted 1642 at Sir Anthony Mildmay's manor house, "Apethorpe".

The Bloody Banquet by Dekker and Middleton, published 1639, acted 1619 by Beeston's Boys at the Red Bull, or the Cockpit.

Hamlet, is, of course, relevant, and V, i, does indicate some need for a trap-door, as pointed out in my section on "The Treatre and Stage" (pp.37-8), but there is no indication that the trap was in the "study". I can see no plausible reason for staging the scene there. It is an exterior scene in a church yard, and requires room for Ophelia's funeral procession. Plausibility is all on the side of using the main stage trap-door for this scene.

For the use of a "study" trap as a pit, Adam cites:

The Old Wive's Tale by Peele, published 1595, acted 1590 by the Queen's Men at the Theatre.

Look About You, an anonymous play edited 1600, acted 1599 by the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

The Atheist's Tragedy by Tourneur, published 1611, acted 1609 by an unknown company at an unknown theatre.

The Strange Discovery by Gough, published 1640, a closet drama.

Titus Andronicus, first published and acted in 1594 at the Rose, but acted at the Globe by 1600. In II, iii, a trap opening is needed for a pit, but as in Hamlet, there is no indication that the trap should be on the inner stage or "study".

As evidence of a ditch, Adams cites two pre-Globe plays, and one might suppose these subsequently became the property of the Lord Chamberlain's Men and were acted in their theatre, out:

Arden of Feversham an anonymous play, published 1592, has no acting record which tells us its company or theatre, and

Edward II by Marlowe, edited 1593, and acted about 1592 by the Earl of Pembroke's Men, appears in the repertory of the Queen's Men at the Red Bull by 1622, and therefore was almost certainly not acted at the first Globe.

For evidence of the use of the trap as a "nondescript hole in the ground" Adams cites:

The Two Noble Ladies, an anonymous play in manuscript, acted about 1622 by the Red Bull Revels at the Red Bull.

The Princess, by Killigrew, published 1664, acted 1636 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit.

Timon of Athens, the only first Globe play of the three. Adams' reference to IV, ii, of this play must be an error, for that scene--the leave-taking of Timon's servants and their lament for his downfall--contains no reference to a hole. Perhaps the reference Adams meant is in IV, iii, a scene which involves the discovery of gold. I have referred to IV, iii of this play on page 38.

For the second type of scene--traps used to represent river banks and wells--Adams' citations begin with two first Globe plays.

Pericles, II, i, in which Adams interprets "enter" two fishermen, as "discover" two fishermen, and places the scene in the "study". This is purely subjective reading, for I think the outer stage would have served as well, if not better. Certainly it is not conclusive evidence of the existence of an inner stage trap.

The Devil's Charter, F4, the scene in which Caesar Borgia and Frescobaldi throw the murdered Duke of Candie over the railing of a bridge into the Tiber is, again, quite arbitrarily placed by Adams on the inner stage. There is no logical reason to place the bridge in the "study".

For additional evidence of use of the first Globe inner-trap as a beach, Adams cites:

The Two Maidens of More-Clacke by Armin, published 1609, acted 1607-8 by the King's Revels Boys at Whitefriars.

The Prisoner. Since Massinger's play of 1640, with this title is lost, Adams must have meant The Prisoners by Killigrew, published 1641, acted 1635 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit. Neither play helps to prove the existence of an inner-stage trap at the Globe.

For additional evidence of the use of the inner-stage trap as a river bank, Adams cites:

Lochrine by W.S., published 1595, acted 1591 by an unknown company at an unknown theatre.

Aphrodisial by William Percy, a manuscript play. Chambers thinks it may have been acted before 1590 by Paul's boys. (III, 464)

For the use the trap as a spring or well, Adams cites:

Claudius Tiberius Nero, an anonymous play, published 1607 as a closet drama.

The Duchess of Suffolk by Thomas Duke, published 1631, acted 1624 by Palsgrave's Company at the Fortune.

For the third type of scene, using the "study" trap as subterranean vaults and passageways, Adams has numerous references. For the entrances of ghosts through this trap, which he says has no connection with the "hell" under the main stage, he cites:

The Roman Actor by Massinger, published 1629, acted 1626 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe,

and two first Globe plays:

Richard III, where in V, iii, Adams arbitrarily interprets the direction "enter" as "rising through the 'study' floor trap",

and

Macbeth, where in IV, i, the text and stage directions indicate the need for a trap, but not its location in the inner-stage.

Adams' discussion of Richard III is confusing since he has already cited the "Bosworth Field" scene to prove the use of a traverse to divide the inner stage from back to front into two sections representing the tents of Richard and Richmond. (p.204) He never makes it clear how he thinks the 11 ghosts get from one tent to the other --whether, having risen into one, they must then descend and rise at the other end of the trap into the other tent, or whether, once risen, they walk out on to the main stage, around the curtain and into the other tent to prophesy and descend.

For "related examples" of vaults not connected with hell, Adams cites:

An Alarum for London, a first Globe play, with the reference to a vault in the house of an Antwerp burgher. (I have discussed this scene on page 37.) Adams, as one would expect, places the scene in the "study", but there is no reason why it could not have been played on the outer stage.

Love and Honour by Davenant, published 1649, acted 1636-7 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

Fatal Contract by William Heminges, published 1653, acted about 1630 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit.

In his footnote Adams gives as additional examples of ghosts rising:

I Richard II (Thomas of Woodstock) an anonymous play in manuscript acted about 1592 under unknown auspices and in an unknown theatre.

Doctor Faustus by Marlowe, published 1604, acted 1594-7 by the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey listed by Adams as Caesar's Revenge, an anonymous play, published about 1606, acted at Trinity College, Oxford.

The White Devil by Webster, published 1612, acted 1612 by Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull and the Phoenix.

The Devil is an Ass by Jonson, published 1631, acted 1616 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

The Witch of Edmonton by Dekker, published 1608, acted by 1621 by the Prince's Men at the Cockpit.

The Vow Breaker by Sampson, published 1636, acted 1625 by the Prince's Men at The Red Bull (?).

Adrasta by Jones, published 1635, unacted (?).

The Valiant Scot by J.W., published 1637, unacted (?).

The Lost Lady by Berkeley, published 1637-8, acted by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

Mercurius Britannicus by Braithwaite, closet drama translated from the Latin and published 1641.

In addition to these there are five plays previously mentioned in this section for which I have already listed the authors, first editions, acting dates, auspices, theatres, and other relevant information ignored by Adams. These are: Alphonsus of Arragon, Antonio's Revenge, The Atheist's Tragedy, Bussy D'Ambois, and Macbeth.

As additional examples of scenes needing a "study" trap as entrance to a vault, Adams cites:

The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois by Chapman, published 1613, acted 1610 by the Queen's Revels at Whitefriars.

The Hog Hath Lost his Pearl by Tailor, published 1614, & acted by apprentices at Whitefriars (?).

The Martyr'd Souldier by Shirley, published 1638, acted by the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Red Bull (?).

The Arcadia by Shirley, published 1640, acted 1640 by the Queen's Men at the Phoenix.

The Pilgrim by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted by the King's Men at Court, 1621-2, and at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

For the use of the "study" trap as a dungeon, Adams cites as examples:

Antonio's Revenge by Marston, published 1602, acted 1599 by the Children of Pauls at the song school (?).

Last's Dominion by Day, published 1657, acted 1600 by the Admiral's Men at the Fortune.

and as an example of its use as an underground passage:

Aglaura by Suckling, published 1638, acted 1637-8 by the King's Men at Court.

"Additional facts about the nature and operation of the study floor trap emerge", says Adams, "from an examination of other scenes." Adams finds evidence that actors' cues for the opening of the trap door from above came from the dialogue in:

(The Wonder of Women) Sophonsiba by Marston, published 1606, acted 1605-6 by the Queen's Revels at the second Blackfriars.

Love and Honour (See page 168 above.)

Evidence that actors' cues for opening the trap from below came from off stage signal, and other details of trap operation are found in plays already checked and listed, namely:

The Martyr'd Souldier, page 169.

The Bloody Banquet, page 165.

The Fatal Contract, page 168.

Adams decides that the "study" trap had no operating mechanism. This decision is based on the reasoning that since ghosts could rise into a scene without waking sleeping characters, or attracting the attention of a character standing with his back toward the trap, they must have risen without a sound! This type of reasoning is characteristic of Adams' method, but in this instance I think it is carried to the point of absurdity.

The statement:

" . . . "Scale drawings and section plans of the Globe show that the down stage position of the platform trap made it impossible to screen the lowering of the trap from spectators in the upper galleries." (p. 214)

is equally absurd, for there are no scale drawings and section plans of the Globe in existence. To follow this with such a positive statement as:

"Customarily, therefore, the trap was closed (that is, returned to stage level) as soon as possible. In no scene, so far as I am aware, does it remain open as long as a minute." (p. 214)

reaches the height of absurdity, for it seems to imply that its author witnessed performances at the first Globe.

Here Adams seems to be saying that because spectators could have seen into a trap on the main stage, one was installed on the inner-stage, but he gives no indication why he thinks seeing into the trap opening was not the accepted practice in theatres of the Elizabethan period.

Examination of one scene cited as evidence that ghosts entered through "study" traps so silently that they did not waken sleeping characters show two errors in Adams' reasoning. The scene is Cymbeline V, iv, (F 1623 - T 393). It is presumably a prison because Posthumus enters with two gaolers who leave him alone. After a soliloquy, he sleeps --in hope of communing with Imogen. Then follows the stage direction:

"Solemne Musicke. Enter (as in 'n Apparation)
Sicillius Leonatus, Father to Posthumus, an old
man, attyred like a warriour, leading in his
hand an ancient Matron (his wife, and Mother to
Posthumus) with Musicke before them: . . ."

These characters circle Posthumus as he sleeps and carry on a dialogue for some 60 lines, at which point:

"Iupiter descends in Thunder and Lightening, sitting
uppon an Eagle: hee throwes a Thunder bolt. The
Ghostes fall on their knees."

Jupiter speaks and ascends, and a few lines later the ghosts vanish. The sound accompanying the descent of Jupiter is emphasized by Sicilius Leonatus who speaks of his coming in "thunder; his celestial breath .. sulphurous to smell", but Posthumus sleeps through the whole act on and only wakes when he is again alone on the stage.

Cymbeline, although possibly performed at the first Globe, was probably written for Blackfriars and, therefore, has not been included in my study of first Globe plays. I have summarized the scene here in order to point the flaws in Adams' reasoning. First, why must "enter, as in an apparition" be interpreted to mean through a trap door? (Incidentally, could one rising through a trap opening be described as "leading in his hand an ancient matron"?) Second, if Jupiter's descent amidst the flashing of lightening and the hurling of thunderbolts did not wake Posthumus, why need the opening of a trap be so silent?

Other examples of silent traps are cited by Adams from:

The Vow Breaker by Sampson, published 1636, acted about 1625, possibly by the Prince's Men at the Red Bull.

Adrasta, unacted, see page 169 above.

I Richard II or Thomas of Woodstock, see page 168 above.

Arcadia, see page 169 above.

Julius Caesar, the only first Globe play in this group. Adams cites IV, iii, in an attempt to show that a ghost could enter by the "study" trap and not attract the attention of a character who had his back turned--in this case, Brutus. Brutus is trying to find his place in a book. Just why this means that his back is toward the trap is not clear; and why does the simple direction "Enter the ghost of Caesar" have to be interpreted as entry by a trap door? Can Adams pretend to know that all ghosts entered by trap? In this case, why must the trap be in the inner-stage? As to his saying that this passage proves that the trap mechanism either operated silently or was non-existent, no comment is necessary.

This section ends with an elaborate comparison of "study trap work" with "platform trap work" with never any suggestion of the possibility that there was only one trap door.

In Section 11-- "Rushes on the Study Floor"-- Adams elaborates his earlier section which dealt with rushes on the outer stage, and states:

" . . . the floor of the outer stage was not everywhere covered with rushes, the floor of both the lower and upper inner stages normally were." (p. 217)

The first Globe plays are cited as having passages giving evidence of the use of rushes on the inner-stage:

I Henry IV, III, i, the same scene that was used as evidence of rushes on the outer-stage in an earlier section of Adams' book. (p.107) The play is a valid source of evidence, but the line:

"She bids you on the wanton rushes lay you down"

hardly important enough to class as valid proof--it may have been a figurative use.

Every Man Out of His Humour, Q 1600 - line 2629 (This must be another typographical error for Adams cites line 2529 which has nothing to do with rushes.):

Fast. (idious) Fore God (sweet Ladie) beleuee it, I
do honour the meanest rush in this chamber
for your loue.

Sau. (olina) I, you need not tell me that sir, I do
think you doe prize a rush before my loue.

.....

Fast. O, by Iesu pardon me, I said for your loue, . ."

Surely this sort of banter does not depend upon the existence of real rushes on the stage.

Adams also cites two of Webster's plays as evidence of rushes on the "study" floor. In both, the reference is to struggle or death "i' th' rushes" and it seems possible that the phrase may have been descriptive. The plays are:

The White Devil, published 1612, acted by the Queen's Men at the Red Bull. Here the action described is represented on the stage only in a dumb show, which makes the need for real rushes doubly suspect.

The Duchess of Malfi, published 1623, "As it was presented priuately, at the Blackfriars; and publiquely at the Globe, by the King's Maiesties Seruants. The perfect and exact Coppy, with diuerse things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beare in the Presentment." says the title page. The last scene, from which the reference comes would appear to be an outer-stage scene since its action was visible from above; so while the play may have been acted at the first Globe in 1613, it does not offer positive proof of the use of rushes on the inner-stage.

As additional evidence of rushes on the Globe "study" floor, Adams cites references from:

The Cunning Lovers by Brome, published 1654, acted 1638 by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit.

The Royal King and Loyal Subject by Heywood, published 1637, acted 1602 by the Queen's Men at the Red Bull.

The Tragedy of Hoffman by Chettle, published 1631, acted 1602 by the Admiral's Men at the Fortune.

The Gentleman Usher by Chapman, published 1606, acted by the Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars.

Byron's Conspiracy by Chapman, published 1608, acted 1608 by the Queen's Revels at Blackfriars.

Hannibal and Scipio by Nabbes, published 1637, acted 1635 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit.

Of the long list of plays from which in a footnote Adams cites more references to rushes, some have already been examined for their applicability to the Globe. The remaining ones are:

An Humorous Day's Mirth by Chapman, published 1599, acted 1597 by the Admiral's Men at the Rose.

The Just Italian by Davenant, published 1630, acted 1629 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

Valentinian by Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1614 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

The Widow's Tears by Chapman, published 1612, acted 1605 by the Queen's Revels at the second Blackfriars.

Adams' evidence for the use of woven matting on the floor of the study is taken from:

The Broken Heart by Ford, published 1633, acted 1629 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

The Fair Favorite by Davenant, published 1673, acted 1629 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

Love's Sacrifice by Ford, published 1633, acted 1627 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Phoenix, Denmark House, or the Cockpit.

A Mad World My Masters by Middleton, published 1608, acted 1606 by Paul's Boys at the Song School.

No Wit No Help Like a Woman's by Middleton, published 1657 acted 1613 by Lady Elizabeth's Men at Whitefriars.

Orestes by Goffe, published 1633, acted 1617 at Christ Church, Oxford.

The Scornful Lady by Fletcher, published 1616, acted 1613 by the Queen's Revels at Porter's Hall.

The Siege by Davenant, published 1673, acted 1629 by the King's Men (?)

References to carpet on the "study" floor are taken from:

The Bonaman by Massinger, published 1624, acted 1623 by Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Cockpit.

Although the question of whether or not rushes were used at the first Globe is of minor importance, proof of their use would be an interesting sidelight on the conventions of the playhouse. In support of his presumption that their use was customary, Adams cites references from some 36 plays of which only three were in the first Globe repertory. A reference in a play acted in the 1630's can hardly be taken as evidence of first Globe conventions. To suggest (as Adams does on page 217) that the rushes were used on the floor imitating standard domestic practice, for practical reason such as protecting actors and their costumes, and minimizing the sounds of scene shifting, and that playwrights made references to the rushes because they were there is to suggest that the Elizabethan playwright was limited by the conventions of the playhouses.

In section 12, Adams attempts to establish the existence of "The Study Ceiling Trap". His first reference is to:

The Jew Of Malta by Marlowe, published 1633, acted 1589 by Strange's Men at the Cross Keys Inn. In the final scene, Barabas is seen arranging a trap on the upper stage through which he himself later falls into a cauldron of boiling water. This business could have been affected with no trap-door, and probably was when the play was acted at the Cross Keys Inn. Adams admits that it was not feasible to show Barabas actually falling through a trap into a cauldron.

Of the other 30 plays written between 1599 and 1639 which Adams says use a trap-door in the study ceiling, two only may have been performed at the Globe, but no scene offers evidence positive enough to make me disagree with the writers who, Adams says, rejected Albright's postulation of the ceiling trap in 1909, "for the reason that they have been unable to find similar instances in other plays". (p. 219)

The two plays that may have been produced at the first Globe which are said by Adams to show evidence of the "study" ceiling trap are:

The Captain by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted by the King's Men in 1609 at the second Blackfriars or the first Globe. IV, iv of this play impresses Adams as being, "The most remarkable of its kind in Elizabethan drama" (P.224) I have examined the scene because (1) Adams thinks it is so remarkable, (2) it may have been acted at the first Globe, though written after the company started using Blackfriars and not published for 38 years, and (3) it is the scene on which Adams bases all of his proof that the Globe theatre's "study" had a trap-door in its ceiling. My conclusions are that it is in no way a remarkable scene, that it shows no evidence of the feature Adams is trying to establish and support, and that he has misinterpreted the action and arbitrarily decided that the texts contains a rather serious misprint. By such a course one could make almost any scene "the most remarkable of its kind". In F 1647, IV, iv, of the play begins on the street with Angelo bribing Lelia's maid to admit him to a place where he can see her mistress and not be seen by her. The scene then shifts to the interior of the house with the servants bringing in a banquet. Lelia's father enters disguised as a soldier. In the midst of a song Lelia sings (within?) is the direction: "Enter Angilo above". From "above" (simply the upper playing space?) Angelo observes Lelia enter to her father whom she does not recognise. She offers herself to her father who does not disclose his identity by speaking but indicates his grey hair and beard. Lelia replies that his age is a novelty, that she sent two young wooers, of whom Angelo was one, away that very day. At this, Angelo is seen to make "discontented signs" and the maid, who has entered with Lelia, signals him to keep quiet. The father points at the maid and Lelia sends her away. Adams, with no justification whatsoever, says she exits to the upper stage. The father looks the door, (Adams inserts "study" before "door") reveals himself to Lelia and starts to kill her:

"Fath. The doores are fast; thou shalt not say a prayer,
'Tis not Gods will thou shouldst; when this is done
I'll kill my selfe, that never man may tell me
I got thee* * Fath. draws his sword. Angilo
discovers himselfe.

Lel. I pray you Sir, help her, for Gods sake Sir.

Ang. Hold, Reverend Sir, for honour of your age! "

Adams thinks that "Lel.", the abbreviation for Lelia which is used consistently in the text, is an error for "Nell", the maid's name. Throughout the text, however, the maid is always referred to (her speeches indicated, that is) as "Maid" or "Ma.", the latter being more usual. Next, Adams takes Lelia's speech as it appears in the second folio (1679) edition of the play,

"I pray you Sir, help her, For Heaven's sake, Sir."

The original text seems to indicate that Lelia, at the point of her father's sword, is begging him for mercy, calling for help to the man who has just revealed himself on the gallery, and again begging her father for mercy in God's name. In what is otherwise a good text Adams cannot declare that "Lel." is an error for "Nell" since that name does not appear anywhere else to indicate that the maid speaks. If the maid is on the gallery beside Angelo why does he say:

"This house holds none but I, only a Maid
Whom I will lock in fast as I come down."

and not, "only this maid"? After the maid's exit at Lelia's request she does not appear again in this scene and Adams has no right to include her in the action, he does not strengthen his case for the study ceiling trap by doing so and he leaves one wondering just why he has done so. (Had the second folio given the "help her" speech to "Nell" there would have been some justification for what Adams has done, but as it is, there is none.) in defending his interpretation of the scene Adams is aware that it could have been staged on a stage like the Swan's with the "room" of Lelia's house the main stage with one stage door leading from ^{the} street, the other to the rest of the house, including the stairs to the place above (simply the upper acting area). Adams says that this hypothesis cannot be accepted because (1.) the beginning of the scene represents a street. As I have pointed out, the scene shifts from exterior to interior with a clear-cut change. (2.) Angelo on the upper stage, unless he had been looking through the study ceiling trap would have been as conspicuous to Lelia and her father as they were to him. This is preposterous, of course, since it was a convention of Elizabethan drama that a character could be conspicuous to the audience, even make asides to them, yet remain unseen by the other characters. Besides, if Angelo had stood quietly at one side of the upper stage he would have been no more "conspicuous" than if he had been peering through the ceiling! (3.) Adams says that if Angelo had stood back on the upper stage he could not have

seen the characters below unless they had been on the outer half of the outer stage (just where they may have been and then makes the statement, "But this is simply a principle observed in hundreds of Elizabethan plays, namely, that action in the chamber is rarely if ever related to action on the platform." (p.225) I have found that the exact opposite of this is true and that upper stage action is always related to action on the main stage. (Contrast Adams' statement with Cowling's, "The gallery and the place behind the stage were very rarely used 'alone'." Cowling also said, "The inner stage, when it is used, usually appears as an annex to the outer stage. It is rarely the setting for an independent scene." Cowling, op.cit. pp.166 and 175.) One further point here, could the audience have seen Angelo looking through the study ceiling trap and known what he was doing? The ceiling trap was "directly over the floor trap" says Adams, (p.227) and hence it was in the centre of the 7 foot deep upper-stage. That means it was about 3 or 4 feet from the front of the stage, plus the 3 or 4 feet of the "tarras", or around 7 feet up-stage, back of a railing. It would seem that as far as most of the audience was concerned Angelo might have been staring at a spot on the floor. (4.) The locking of the study door after the maid left would be an action "familiar to the audience and theatrically convincing. But in an outer-stage, or a combined-stage (platform and study) scene, locking only one of the three conspicuous doors would be thoroughly unconvincing." says Adams. (p.225) Since this is not a "combined-stage" scene and there is only one door to the "study" Adams has postulated, I cannot follow Adams' staging. The father must have entered the inner-stage door as he entered the house from the street. If so, where do Lelia and her maid enter? If another door is temporarily put in for the scene, then why is it theatrically convincing for the father to lock one door and not the other? Since the stage doors play no part in the scene, the one inner-stage door must have led to the street and to the rest of the house. I maintain that if the scene had been staged in a theatre that did not have a "study" as a permanent architectural feature, one of the two stage doors would have been used to lead on from the street and the other to the rest of the house. If the father locked the door leading to the rest of the house and placed himself between Lelia and the street door (which he may have locked as he entered) the audience would have found the action quite as "familiar" and "theatrically convincing" as that Adams postulates taking place in his "study" since it would have been the only action of the kind with which they were familiar in the theatre.

One would be even more disturbed by Adams' interpretation and staging of this scene, and of all the others he examines in this section while searching for proof of his "study" ceiling trap, if he did not sum it all up by saying:

"In short, the ways in which it should be turned to dramatic account were limited, and having, it would seem, no equivalent in the normal home, its use in the theatre was, in the sense of holding a mirror up to life, illogical." (p. 227)

why, one wonders, has he worked so diligently to prove the existence of an architectural feature so limited in its use and so dramatically illogical, when he alone among students of the problem thinks there was such a feature?

Bonduca by Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1613 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and probably the first Globe. The scene cited, II, iii, involves nothing more than characters on the upper-stage eavesdropping on those on the lower-stage. There is nothing to indicate that this was done through a trap-door.

The other plays which Adams cites as containing evidence of the study ceiling trap are:

Blurt, Master Constable by Middleton (or Dekker?). edited 1602, acted 1601 by the Children of Paul's in the Song School has a reference in III, iii to a trap-door in a speech by one of the characters who asks if it is ready. Later, in IV, ii, "Music suddenly plays and birds sing Enter Lazarillo bareheaded. . ." All references to entrances "above" are clearly marked in this text, and it therefore seems that Adams is taking some liberty when he suggests that Lazarillo enters above. During Lazarillo's long soliloquy which ~~he~~ follows his entrance, music and laughter are heard "within" which he, in turn, hears, and to which he refers. ("Within" usually refers to action off the main stage.) After Lazarillo lies down and falls through a trap door, Frisco and Imperia enter "above" and Lazarillo has a long speech in which he describes the discomforts of the place into which he has fallen. Now the description he gives fits Adams' "Hell" so exactly that one wonders why Adams does not cite the scene as evidence of the Globe's "Hell". Lazarillo says: "... . I am in hell but here is no fire; hell fire is all put out. What ho, so Ho, ho! I shall be drowned. I beseech thee dear Frisco, raise Blurt the constable, or some scavenger, to come and make clean these kennels of hell for they stink so that I shall cast away my precious self." Adams says that Lazarillo seems to fall through the "study" ceiling trap into the "study". Lazarillo could not actually fall, since Adam's study is 12 feet high, so some kind of scaffolding, stairs or other means of descent would have to have been built up in the "study" and hence the curtains would remain closed. Heretofore Adams has been quite literal in his interpretation of the various rooms which the stage represented even going so far as to relate the off-stage space literally. What would he have us believe the inner stage represented in the scene under discussion? Did Lazarillo fall through the study ceiling trap and the study floor trap as well? If he did not, the audience would have heard Lazarillo's voice behind the study curtain describing the study as being cold, full enough of water to drown him, and stinking so as to make him vomit. I think it would be much more to the point to admit that the playwright may have intended a play on the word "hell" and that Lazarillo was in the stage hell. I suggest, therefore, that Lazarillo "fell" through the trap on the main stage and that Frisco and Imperia entered on the upper-stage from whence they spoke to Lazarillo. Adams can obtain on positive evidence of the study ceiling trap from this scene.

Antonio's Revenge by Marston, published 1602, acted 1599 by the Children of Paul's, has a scene in which voices are heard saying "murder", "From above and beneath". Even if the scene were staged on the inner-stage, and there is no reason why it should have been, is a voice heard from "above" proof that it was projected through a trap-door in the ceiling? I think not.

The Faery Pastoral by Percy, a play in manuscript (acted in 1603 at Syon House or in 1590 at Paul's?). Wherever it was staged, Adams cites the direction, "a Scrolle fell into her (Fancia's) lap from above" as valid evidence of the existence of the "study" ceiling trap at the first Globe. Fancia is lying on a "bank" of flowers. Adams says the "bank" must have been in the inner-stage and therefore the scroll "probably fell through the ceiling trap (p.221). This, I maintain, is utter nonsense. The bank could have been on the outer-stage, and the scroll tossed down from above, or if on the inner-stage, tossed on from off stage with no need to cut a trap door in the ceiling!

The Brazen Age by Heywood, published 1613, acted before 1613 by the Queen's Men at the Red Bull, has a "showre of raine". Adams doesn't see how this could have been managed without the use of the ceiling trap, (p. 222) but Reynolds, who examined the play in his study of the theatre for which it was written, thinks the rain was simply imaginary. (Reynolds, G.F., op. cit. p.170)

The Royal Slave by Cartwright, published 1639, acted 1636 at Christ Church, Oxford, had a "Showre of raine dashing out the fire" (on an altar). It would have been more difficult to have had this rain imaginary, but staging at Christ Church in 1636 is not evidence about the first Globe Theatre.

The Bashful Lover by Massinger, published 1655, acted 1636 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and the second Globe.

The Family of Love by Middleton, published 1608, acted 1602 by the Children of Paul's at the Song School.

Michaelmas Term by Middleton, published 1607, acted 1604 by the Children of Paul's at the Song School.

Your Five Gallants by Middleton, published 1608, acted 1607 by the Children of the Queen's Revels.

The Gentleman Usher by Chapman, published 1606, acted 1602 by the Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars.

The Woman Hater by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1607, acted 1606 by the Children of Paul's in the Song School.

Four Plays in One

This is a useless reference. There are three groups of plays listed by Chambers under this title. The only single play which might be identified by it is The Yorkshire Tragedy which has as a head title "All's One or One of the Four Plays in One Called a Yorkshire Tragedy". I find no reference to a ceiling trap in scene iii of this play. There are also "Four Plays or

Moral Representations in One" in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647, and a "platt" of "Four plays in One" attributed to Tarleton is among the Dulwich papers. To which one of these does Adams refer?

The Second Maiden's Tragedy, an anonymous play, published 1623, acted 1614 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and possibly the first Globe.

The Custom of the Country by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1620 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and the second Globe.

The Heir by May, published 1622, acted 1620 by the Red Bull Revels at the Red Bull (?).

The Virgin Martyr By Dekker, published 1622, acted 1620 by the Red Bull Revels at the Red Bul (?).

Love's Cure by Massinger, published 1647, unacted.

The Renegado by Massinger, published 1630, acted by Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Red Bull.

The Great Duke of Florence by Massinger, published 1636, acted 1627 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit.

The Picture by Massinger, published 1630, acted 1629 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

A Very Woman by Massinger, published 1655, acted 1634 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

A New Trick to Cheat the Devil by Davenport, published 1639, acted 1625 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit.

The Emporor of the East by Massinger, published 1632, acted 1631 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

The Novella by Brome, published 1653, acted 1632 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

The Rebellion by Rawlins, published 1640, acted 1636 by the King's Revels at Salisbury Court.

The Wise Woman of Hogsdon by Heywood, published 1638, acted 1604 (?) at the Curtain or at Court. May have been performed at the Red Bull, but never at the Globe.

Why Adams has thought it necessary to cite so many plays to prove the existence of a playhouse feature of which he says, "its

use in the theatre was. . . illogical", is difficult to say. . . As far as the first Globe is concerned his evidence adds up to nothing at all. The references are so vague, in fact, that not one is valid proof of the feature under discussion, even for the theatre in which the play was originally acted. Adams' statement that there were thirty plays in the period 1599-1639 which utilized the ceiling trap is completely unfounded. There is, in fact, no positive evidence of the trap-door in a single one of the plays he cites.

He is less dogmatic about the exact size, location and method of hinging this trap-door than the others he describes. His only estimate of its size is that it must have been large enough for six characters to have stood about the opened trap and observe what was happening below!

Adams bases the need for the "study" ceiling trap-door on the assumption that there was an inner-stage as a permanent architectural feature of the Globe and that any characters referred to as being "above" and overhearing a scene below could only overhear such a scene if they looked and listened through a hole in the floor of the upper stage. This is preposterous.

Adams' Chapter VII, "The Tiring-House Stairs" is an attempt to reconstruct the means of ascent and descent from first to second levels of the Globe. Again the evidence is drawn from over a wide period of time, widely varying auspices and theatres, (mostly private ones) and from a literal interpretation of stage directions.

A prime example of such interpretation is found on page 229 where Adams cites a scene from The Wits as evidence that there was only one stairway at the first Globe. That play by Davenant was licensed in 1634 and published in 1636. It was performed under the auspices of the King's Men and may have been performed at the second Globe. At all events, in Act IV the following dialogue occurs:

"Elder Palatine. Is he coming hither?

Engine. He's at the door! . . .

El. Pal. Then I'll be gone.

Eng. No, sir; he needs must meet you in
Your passage down."

Adams takes this^{as} evidence that there was only one stairway in the theatre leading to the upper stage. We are not sure that the scene was staged on the upper-stage, but if it had been, Engine referred to only one for dramatic purposes. In other words, there may have been several stairways in the theatre, but there was supposed to be only one in this scene, wherever it was acted. This type of interpretation, which Adams applies to similar passages in other plays, makes one wonder whether he has ever staged a play in present

day, or any other, theatrical conditions.

Adams thinks allusions to stairs had a foundation in reality, and that stairs were as plain to be seen by actors and audience as were doors, door-posts, wickets, stage posts, windows, and penthouses, since "it was the habit of Elizabethan dramatists to accept the equipment in dialogue." (p.233)

His chapter has references to stairs in 59 plays. Of these, 4 only were exclusively first Globe:

Titus Andronicus is cited as having a reference to a character's leaving the main stage and appearing above later. (I,i)

II Henry IV uses II, iv, the scene Adams cites so often, that set in the private room of the Boar's Head Tavern, as showing an association with the head of the stairs and the "chamber" door. The usual question of why Adams thought the scene to have been staged on the upper-stage, remains unanswered.

Merry Wives of Windsor, IV, ii, is cited as an example of a character's calling upstairs. Since Adams does not think that the stairs were on the main stage in view of the audience, this is not a very conclusive bit of evidence for a character could stand in a stage door and seem to be calling upstairs even if there were no stairs there,

Yorkshire Tragedy C3, a scene in which a character says he throws another downstairs. The actual tumbling down the stairs is not seen, and again the reference is actually dramatic. In the same play, for example, occurs the direction (Scene viii):

"Enter Husband as being thrown off his horse, and falls."

Would Adams have us believe that the tiring house accommodated a horse for this particular scene?

Along the same lines as those which prompt Adams to place the II Henry IV scene "Above" (reference to a character's being "below" and advice given to "call him up") he stages every bedroom scene in the "Chamber" as if such scenes could not have been set on the main stage.

That there were stairs in Elizabethan playhouses there can be no doubt. Adams' treatment of the subject and citation of so many plays from an assortment of theatres adds nothing to our knowledge of the stairs in the first Globe.

Appendix D of Adams' book is a refutation of W. J. Lawrence's thesis that pre-Restoration playhouses had visible stair cases on the façade. Here Adams argues logically and supports his arguments with facts, but he does not suggest, or admit, a third possibility--that stairs leading to the upper space may have been placed on the stage when needed in certain scenes.

After the reference to Appendix D the chapter closes by mentioning the stairway which must have connected the second level of the tiring house with the music gallery, and that which joined the music gallery and the superstructure.

"The location of these two stairways can only be guessed at, the plays and other records furnish us with no data upon which to base a conclusion." (p.240)

This statement implies that the four first Globe plays cited did furnish the data upon which to base conclusions about the stairs from the main-stage to the second level.

In Chapter VIII, "The Tiring-House: Second Level", Adams states:

"In the last decade of the sixteenth century the development of an upper curtained stage, inspired we may suspect by the success of the study, brought about several adjustments in the second-level arrangements of the tiring-house." (p. 243)

Turning at once to the evidence that the upper stage was curtained, we find that Adams cites but 8 plays; 4 in Chapter V, "The Tiring-House: Exterior", and 4 in the chapter under discussion:

Titus Andronicus, the only first Globe play mentioned, has the direction in I, i, "Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft". Here there is, obviously, no reference to a curtain. Why Adams takes the liberty of interpreting "enter" to mean "the curtains open aloft to reveal Tribunes and Senators" is not clear. If "enter" is to mean "discover by opening curtains", then another word must be found to indicate a character's entrance through a door under his own power.

The Dumb Knight by Markham, S.R. 1608, acted 1607 by the Children of His Majesties' Revels at Whitefriars. The reference is:

"Enter aloft to cards the Queen and Philocles".

The Double Marriage by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, protected for the King's Men in 1641 and acted at second Blackfriars or second Globe. The reference is:

"Enter Ferrand and Ronvere above"

The Maid of Honor by Massinger, published 1632, acted by the Queen's Men at the Phoenix and later by Beeston's Boys at the Cockpit (?). The reference is:

"Ferdinand, Drusio and Livio above".

Since Adams has interpreted "enter" in all of these plays as "reveal by opening a curtain", it hardly matters that only one of them was presented at the first Globe.

Of the four plays cited in Chapter VIII, none was acted at the first Globe. They are:

The Parson's Wedding by Killigrew, published 1604, probably a Blackfriars play. The reference is to the discovery of a gentleman's chamber, the direction ending, "all above if the Scene can be so ordered". Here is a play published 65 years after the first Globe was built which specifies the use of curtains on the upper stage "if the scene can be so ordered".

Emperor of the East published 1632, acted 1631 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and second Globe. The reference is definite enough, but the date invalidates the play as evidence of first Globe features. The reference is:

"A curtain drawn, Prince Philatell, with others, appear above",

substantiates the evidence that there was a curtain on the upper acting area at the second Blackfriars (and possibly the second Globe ?) by 1631.

The Game at Chess by Middleton, published 1625, acted 1624 by the King's Men at the second Globe. The reference:

"Loud Music. Black Bishops Pawn discovered above. Enter Black Knight in his litter, as passing in haste over the stage".

Certainly there seem to have been curtains "above" for that scene.

None of these 8 references gives solid evidence of curtains before the upper playing space at the first Globe, and I must repeat that none of the first Globe plays has such a reference nor shows any need for such a curtain.

It is mainly on the existence of the upper-stage curtains which Adams has proved to his satisfaction that the next feature of his second-level, the "tarras" is based. The "tarras" Adams describes as a gallery projecting 3 feet beyond the edge of the tiring house which "extends across the entire span between

the corner posts, a distance of 24 feet, and the ends of the terrace were formed by the sides of the projecting bay-windows." (p.253)

Adams cites references to scenes, in plays written before 1599, involving walls or battlements on which characters appear, and indicates that these scenes were staged on the open balcony. Since there are references to the same space after 1599, one wonders why they, too, could not have been staged on the uncurtained upper playing space and not on the "tarras" in front of curtains. The answer to this query lies in Adams' statement:

"Long study of these problems has convinced me that once the curtains were opened the entire complexion of the upper stage changed and a very different set of principles governed the scene". (p.245)

In the same paragraph, however, he states:

"In other words, there is no discernible difference between 'on the walls' scenes written for a projecting tarras backed by a curtained inner stage above and those written for the earlier gallery backed by off stage dressing rooms."

We are thus left with nothing but Adams' "conviction" that the scenes were different to guide us in our knowledge of how they differed. It is, in fact, the conviction which is accountable for the very existence of the "tarras" in Adams' reconstruction of the Globe.

On page 244 Adams states "sixteenth and early seventeenth century dramatists referred to the projecting gallery as the 'tarras'" and he gives a footnote wherein the reader would expect to find references from some of these plays to the "tarras". There are no references to such plays in the note, which begins by stating that "tarras" was the spelling normally used in texts, (of the three plays he later cites the reference is to "tarrase", "tarrasse", and "tarras"; one such spelling out of the only three cited can hardly be said to make that the

normal spelling) and goes on to say that the N.E.D. is more than a century out in giving 1703 as the first date when "terrace" is used to designate a raised platform or balcony in a theatre. On this point Adams is plainly in error for no distinction is made between "terrace" and "tarras" and one of the definitions of "terrace" is, "A gallery, open on one or both sides; a collonade, a portico; a balcony on the outside of a building; also a raised platform or balcony in a theatre or the like---obsolete - (the earliest sense in English)". Examples of these definitions range in date from 1515 to 1703 and to arbitrarily choose 1703 is to miss the point entirely,

Adams next cites the definition of "terraccia" given by Florio in World of Words (1598), but since Adams himself admits that none of Florio's definitions convey the meaning of a projecting gallery (the meaning Adams attaches to the word) I can see no point in his citing Florio's definition, which is: "terrace, a leades, an open walk, a gallerie, a flat roof" all of which describe the sort of scenes that might have been 'set' on the second level of the tiring-house without the addition of a projecting "tarras", all fit any dramatic reference to a "tarras", and all describe the upper acting space in the Elizabethan theatres.

In another note on the same page (244) Adams cites an article by B.S. Allen on the terminology of playhouse design. Allen records some of the observations of Tom Coryat (an English traveller in Italy in 1608) on Italian architecture, Coryat said ". . .English houses in spite of the modifying influence of Renaissance classicism were in plan and in many other fundamental aspects still Medieval. . ."

Allen goes on to say that Coryat described an Italian balcony as "a terrace butting out".¹ (One must note that the word is not spelled "tarras" as Adams would have us think was the normal spelling.) Coryat's definition implies that terraces in England did not usually "butt out".

This all adds up to but one conclusion: Adams has again interpreted a dramatic reference literally. "Tarras"--a variant spelling of "terrace"--was a word in use in England from 1515 and was synonymous with "gallery". Again, on the basis of his belief that "it was the habit of Elizabethan dramatists to accept the equipment of their stage rather literally and to refer to that equipment in dialogue" (p.233), and on his misinterpretation of a word, Adams has discovered and established as an important feature in the first Globe playhouse something which, judging by available evidence, did not exist.

Reynolds notes in The White Devil, a Red Bull play, "one of the few mentions in Elizabethan drama of the 'tarras'", and goes on to point out that the one reference from all 46 of the Red Bull plays can not be taken as anything but a dramatic reference to the upper stage.²

There is not even one reference to a "tarras" in the first Globe plays, and since the Red Bull covers the period 1605-1625, the combined evidence is fair support to the statement that the "tarras" did not exist as a structural feature of Elizabethan public playhouses--certainly not of the Globe.

To return to an examination of the references to "tarras" which Adams cites:

¹Allen, B.S., Tom Coryat and Juliet's Balcony JMLA XLVIII p.947.

²Reynolds, G.F., op. cit. p. 99.

The Knight of Malta by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, may have been acted at Court in 1619-20. It belonged to the King's Men in 1679 and may have been one of their plays earlier in the century. If so, it was acted at second Blackfriars or second Globe. The reference from I, ii is:

"Zanthia. Hist, wenches: my Lady calls, she's entring
The Tarrase, to see the show. . .

Enter (above) Oriana, Zanthia, two Gentlewomen."

A reference to any of the definitions given in the N.E.D. for "terrace" would fit its dramatic use in a scene set in a large house in Malta. If the "tarras" was an architectural feature of the playhouses, why should the playwright bother to insert the word "above" ? By 1575 "Terrace" and "gallery" were synonymous and "gallery" meant "a covered place for walking, partly open at the side, a Piazza, Portico or Colonnade."

May Day by Chapman, published 1611, "A witty Comedie, diuers times acted at the Blacke Fryers", says the title page. Adams accepts Fleay's dating of 1601, but Chambers says Fleay's reasoning giving the play that date is "fantastic" (III, 256) and dates it "c.1609". "Tarrasse" (note the spelling) is used dramatically in a sense synonymous with "terrace" and there is nothing in the action which could not have been performed on an uncurtained upper-stage.

The False One by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, with a King's Men cast listed in the 1679 edition, at which time Bentley thinks they acted the play, though it may have had a Court performance in 1619-20.¹ At all events, there is no reference to "tarras" in the scene cited by Adams (III, iv) but only the word "above".

Love's Cure by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, protected for the King's Men in 1641, too late to have any bearing on the first Globe, even if it contained a direct reference to "tarras" (which it does not).

Pericles is the only first Globe play Adams cites as having a scene involving a "tarras". Unfortunately, the scene (II,ii) does not contain such a reference. What Adams had in mind as representing the "tarras" is not clear, but it may have been the reference to "gallerie" which Simonydes makes (Q 1609 - C₄) but which proves to be a banquet hall where the Knights feast and dance.

On page 249, Adams concludes that the "tarras" he has built out 3 or 4 feet over the lower stage must have resembled a "penthouse" and cites as proof of the existence of the "tarras" several

¹Bentley, G.E., Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Volume I, p.111.

dramatic references to "penthouses".

The N. E. D. indicates that when the word "penthouse" was used in the Elizabethan period to indicate anything but a sloping roof, it signified a "subsidiary structure attached to wall or roof". The article by J.A. Gotch in Shakespeare's England (II, p.63) to which Adams refers, bears this out: "From the front wall of the house there often projected on the level of the first floor a sloping tiled ledge, called a penthouse;" (italics mine). In the strictly literal sense in which Adams interprets these terms, can he honestly substitute "penthouse" for "tarras"?

With all this background, can a reader now accept Adams' ideas that "The Globe tarras projected between 3 and 4 feet out from the scenic wall in front of the upper stage curtains. It extended completely across the mid-section of the tiring-house, a distance of 24 feet, with its ends terminating in the side walls of the flanking bay-window stages". (p. 256); or are Reynolds' views on the Red Bull more applicable to the first Globe? Reynolds says, in referring to the "tarras", "The simplest explanation will serve: merely the straight front of the balcony, designated dramatically as "window" or "walls" or "tarras" to suit the situation portrayed, or theatrically as "above", "aloft", or "the upper stage". Of course the more elaborate arrangements which students have imagined may have existed, but the plays do not require them"¹?

¹Reynolds, G.F., op. cit. p.100.

Reynolds' statement leads directly into Section 2 of Adams' Chapter VIII, "The Window Stages". The Globe window stages " . . . were opposite' each other in the flanking side bays of the enlarged tiring-house; they were bay-windows, projecting some 3 feet out from the scenic wall; and they were considerably larger than their forerunners." (p. 258)

I shall not examine in detail all the evidence in this section. Every window reference cited from the first Globe plays could be played from "the straight front of the balcony".

One example will serve here to show once more just how Adams interprets dramatic references literally and on the literal interpretation builds an architectural feature.

Twelfth Night, a first Globe play, IV, ii.

"Malvolio within

Mal. Who calls there?

Clown. Sir Topas the Curate, who comes to visit Malvolio the Lunaticke. . .

Mal. Sir Topas, never was man thus wronged, good sir Topas do not thinke I am mad: they have layde mee heere in hideous darknesse.

Clo. Fye, thou dishonest sathan:... sayst thou that house is darke?

Mal. As hell sir Topas.

Clo. Why it hath bay Windowes transparant as baricadoes.. .. and yet complainest thou of obstruction?"

Adams says he hesitated before doing so, but he does call the Clown's reference to bay-windows "evidence" of those architectural features at the first Globe! When one adds the missing part of the Clown's speech, "and the clearstories toward the south-north are as lustrous as ebony" can Adams say just where he thinks the Globe's lustrous clearstory was located?

After more of such "evidence" and reasoning, Adams says, (p. 261) "Now since there were bay-windows at the Globe, it follows according to the terms of the Fortune contract that there were bay-windows at the Fortune also."

Several references have already been made to "the Chamber". In section 3 of Chapter VIII Adams sets down the dimensions of this space (the upper-stage) as 11 feet high, 8 feet deep behind the curtain and therefore 11 or 12 feet deep in all (depending on the depth of the "tarras" which was "between 3 and 4 feet out from the scenic wall in front of the upper stage curtain") 23 feet wide at front, narrowing to 20 feet at the back, equipped with stage curtains, the ends enclosed by hangings, the back wall similar to that in the "study" with a door at the rear, passageway beyond, window, rushes on the floor, a floor trap, (perhaps a ceiling trap, also) and a plastered ceiling (p.296)

"Proof" for these dimensions rests on the size of the inner-stage below. Adams is sure the room was large because of Jonson's reference in *The Alchemist*, (a second Blackfriars or second Globe play) IV, i:

"Face. Sir, you are too loud.. I heare you, every word.
Into the laboratory. Some fitter place.
The garden, or great chamber above."

Reynolds was prompted to wonder why Adams had not appended a plan of the Globe's "garden" on this basis of reasoning.¹ Where, one might also ask, was its laboratory?

Other evidence is found in plays very late in the period, as usual.

Perhaps the most interesting theory in the chapter is the one dealing with beds on the upper-stage. Adams does not think it enough to use a curtained bed if curtains are specified in connection with a bed scene. By three steps--(1.) Curtains are not stage curtains (2.) Person in bed is not seen until curtains are opened, hence he is "off-stage" and (3.) the entire audience must be able to see the person revealed by the opening of the curtains--Adams arrives at the conclusion that the bed

¹Reynolds, G. F., *Journal of Eng. and Germanic Philology*, Jan.1943, Vol XLII pp. 122-126.

was sometimes placed in the passageway behind the hangings suspended in the middle of the rear wall.

Illustrations of "this important and often misunderstood detail of Elizabethan stage practice" (p. 281) begin with:

Antonio's Revenge by Marston, published 1602, acted 1599 by the Children of Paul's at the Song School. Adams says that at line 1273 the opening of the curtains reveals a ghost sitting on the bed. This bit of stage business could have been achieved on the main stage without using the curtained space if the ghost had been in the bed when it was put in position on the stage. It will not serve as proof of the use of the corridor back of the curtained opening on the upper-stage.

Love's Mistress by Heywood, published 1636, acted in 1634 at the Phoenix and then at Denmark House as The Queen's Masque. The play was staged by Inigo Jones, much to the delight of the author, who wrote:.

"I cannot pretermitt to give a due Charracter to that admirable Artist, Mr. Inego Jones, Master surveyor of the Kings worke, &. who to every Act, nay almost every Sceane, by his excellent Inventions, gave such an extraordinary Luster; upon every occasion changing the stage, to the admiration of all the Spectators: that, as I must Ingeniously confesse, It was above my apprehension to conceive, so to their sacred Majesties, and the rest of the Auditory."

Obviously, the play had no connection with the first Globe, but the scene cited by Adams as evidence of use of the upper corridor for the curtained bed scenes is:

"Cup(id) discovered sleeping on a Bed"

During the action the boy gets up and leaves the scene in anger.

Love's Sacrifice by Ford, published in 1633, acted about 1627 by Queen Henrietta's Men at the Cockpit, has a scene in which ^{a character is discovered, sleeping in a bed, who later leaves} the scene by a door.

"I am inclined to believe that Desdemona's bed was back there, and that the act of smothering her was to that extent shrouded," writes Adams on page 284 (italics mine), "back there" being the passage behind the hangings suspended in the middle of the rear wall of the upper-stage.

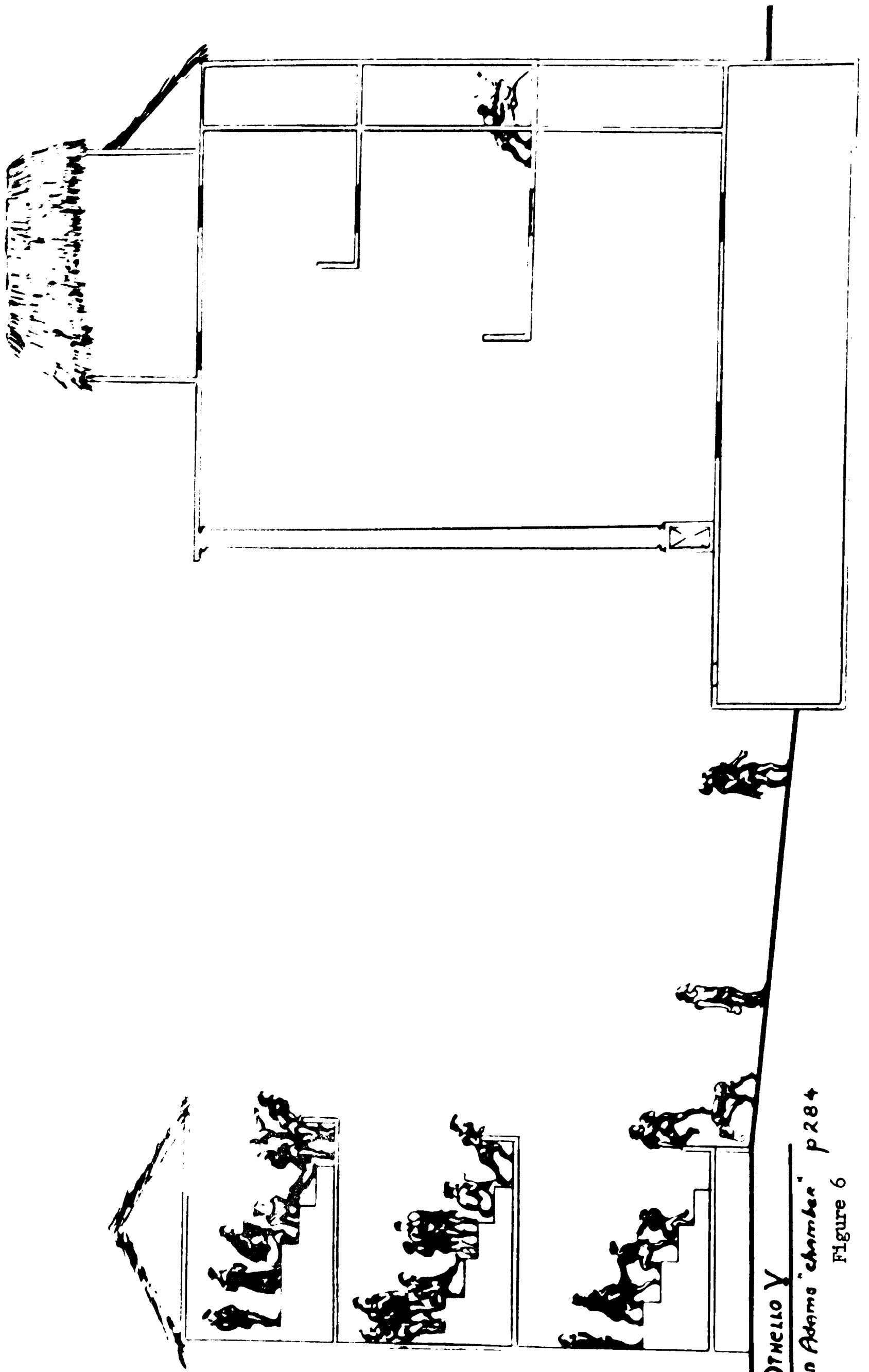
Bentley, G.E., op. cit., I p. 233.

The staging of this scene as Adams believes it was arranged is shown in a cross sectional scale drawing of his theatre in Figure 6, page 197. "To that extent shrouded" is an understatement. The smothering would have been shrouded from all the groundlings and all spectators in the first gallery, from those in the stage boxes and from those in the second and third levels nearest the tiring house. This is a large percentage of the audience. Furthermore, it is difficult to envisage the rest of the scene's being played on the upper-stage with Aemilia falling beside Desdemona and Othello falling upon her as he kissed her and died. Lodovico refers to "the tragic loading of this bed", but whether Aemilia was actually on the bed or only beside it on the floor is not possible to say. If she was on the floor, then even those in the second level gallery would have had difficulty in seeing her. Surely Shakespeare would not have staged the final and most dramatic scene of a play in such a fashion that nearly half his audience could not see it!

It is possible that this scene might have been played on the main stage. A drawing indicating how this staging would have looked in cross section is also included, Figure 7, page 198.

Adams suggests that Juliet's bed was also placed in the upper corridor, but again, this would certainly remove the scene from too large a proportion of the audience. The casket scene in The Merchant of Venice is suggested as another scene utilizing the corridor, although Adams has previously used this scene as evidence of the curtained rear wall on the lower stage. (p. 186)

Valentinian, a King's Men's play by Fletcher, published in 1647 and probably acted in 1614 at the second Blackfriars or second Globe (?), has a scene where jewels are displayed by the drawing of a curtain. This is another scene Adams thinks was staged in the "chamber" with the jewels placed in the corridor.



Othello V
in Adams "chamber" p284
 Figure 6

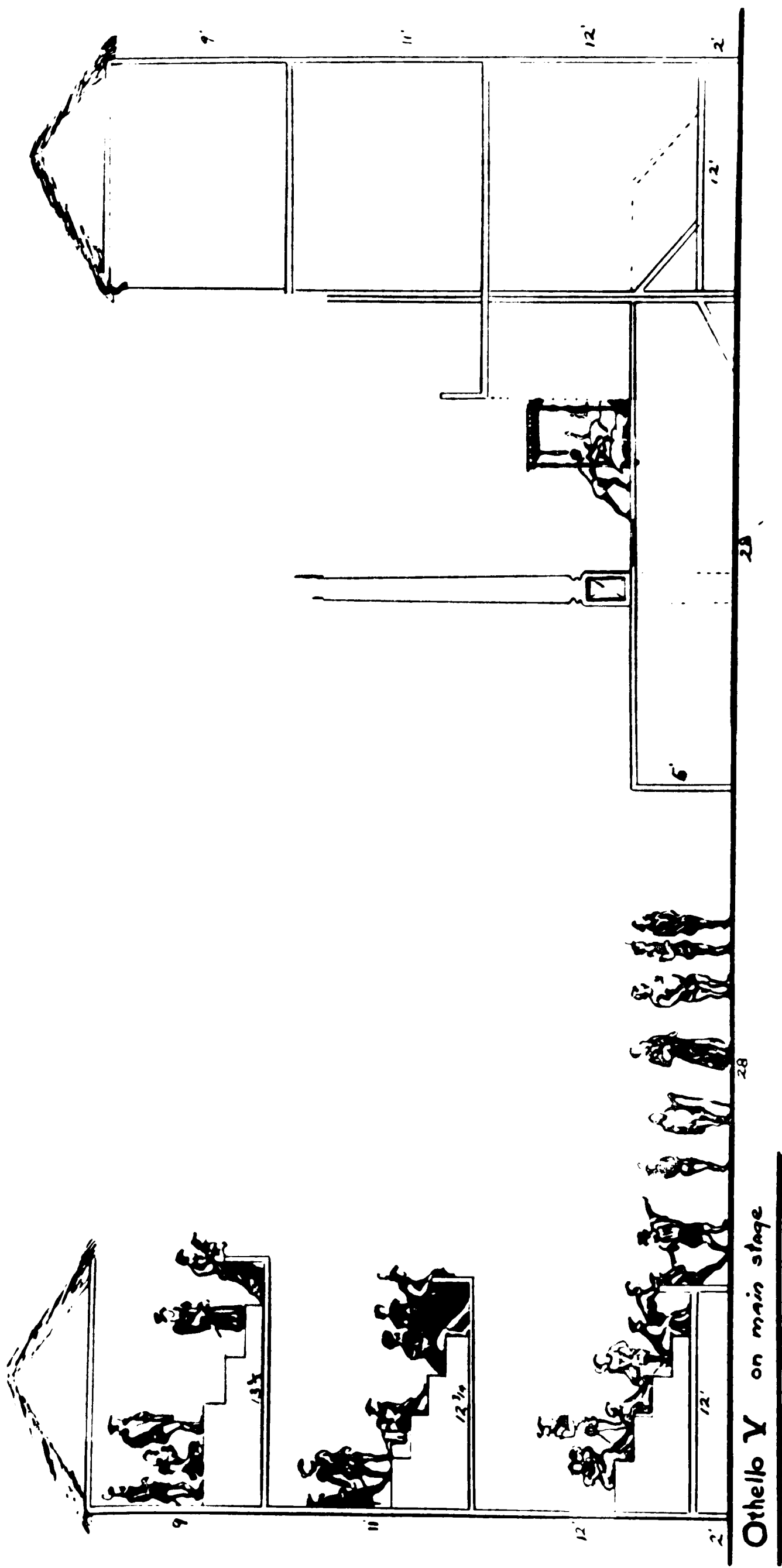


Figure 7

One thing is certain and that is that as shown in the diagram already mentioned, none of these scenes would have been visible to "the entire audience".

For evidence of the door in the rear wall of the upper stage Adams cites but one first Globe play:

II Henry IV, II, iv, which turns out to be the private room in the Boar's Head Tavern. This scene is cited three times by Adams to prove the existence of various features on the upper stage, a place where the scene may never have appeared at the first Globe.

The other plays cited as having evidence of the upper-stage door are:

Atheist's Tragedy by Tourneur, published 1611, acted 1609 (?). Acted under unknown auspices in an unknown theatre.

Maid's Tragedy by Beaumont, published 1619, acted 1611 by the King's Men at second Blackfriars. (Blackfriars is specifically mentioned on the title page, but the Globe is not.)

Scornful Lady by Fletcher, published 1616, acted 1613 by the Queen's Revels at Porter's Hall.

Wit Without Money by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1639, acted 1614 by the Queen's Men at Drury Lane and the Cockpit.

The Cnances, by Beaumont and Fletcher, published 1647, acted 1630 by the King's Men at Court; if in a theatre, the second Blackfriars or second Globe.

Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany an anonymous play, published 1653, acted 1636 by the King's Men at Blackfriars. (No other theatre is mentioned.)

Inconstant Lady by Wilson, a manuscript play, acted 1630 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe.

None of these plays would help in determining what features the first Globe had, but in addition, Adams' interpretations of the settings as on the upper-stage are questionable. In Wit Without Money, for example, a character says: "I have a Green Chamber Luce, a back door opens to a Long Gallerie", a passage plainly descriptive of a room that has no conceivable connection with the upper-stage of a playhouse,

yet Adams uses it as evidence of the door in the back wall of the upper-stage leading to a corridor beyond! The Maid's Tragedy scene is in an upper room of the palace--not necessarily the upper-stage of a theatre, while the scene in The Atheist's Tragedy is in a woman's chamber, and could have been played on the main stage as well as the upper one.

In an attempt to prove that the Globe audience was familiar with the close relationship between "chamber, passageway and stairs down to the floor below" (p. 288-9), Adams cites scenes from:

The Wandering Lovers (listed under its sub-title, The Lovers' Progress) by Fletcher and Massinger, published 1647, acted 1623 by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars and/or the second Globe. III, i, contains a line referring to an action off stage which took place on "the Staires-head" of the mansion in which the play is set, not on the stairs of the first Globe. The scene may well have been acted on the main stage.

The Yorkshire Tragedy, the scene is that in which the husband throws the maid downstairs (discussed on page 184).

The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon by Jordan, a play in manuscript, acted 1641 at Apethorpe Manor has a tavern scene which proves nothing about the upper-stage since it may have been staged on the main-stage.

The Royal King and the Loyal Subject by Heywood (see page 174 above) also has a tavern scene which may have been staged on the main, and not the upper, stage.

Adams thinks that sometimes the upper-stage door opened not into the corridor, but into a closet. He cites 3 plays which he thinks had "chamber" scenes in which closets played an important part:

Love's Cruelty by Shirley, published 1640, acted 1631 by the Queen's Men at Drury Lane.

Scots' Figaries by Tatham, published 1652, a closet drama.

The Costly Whore, an anonymous play, published 1633, acted by the Red Bull Revel's Company (?).

For evidence of the fact that "The chamber had a window facing into a rear passage." (p. 293) Adams cites:

Cymbeline by Shakespeare, published 1623, acted 1609 (?) by the King's Men at the second Blackfriars or the first Globe. II, ii, finds Iachimo noting a window in Imogen's chamber.

As Cowling has pointed out,¹ this is the first real inner-stage scene in Shakespeare and does much to strengthen the case for an inner-stage at second Blackfriars, but not at the first Globe.

The Captain, (see page 176 above) has references to scenes "above" clearly marked, but the one to which Adams here refers, V, ii, is not so indicated. Furthermore, the character in question, is instructed to "look out", not "out of the window". The scene may have been played on the main-stage and a door used to "look out". Moreover, it may have been a second Blackfriars play.

The Spanish Gipsy by Middleton, published 1653, acted 1623 by Lady Elizabeth's Men at Court and at the Phoenix. Adams examines I, iii and III, iii, and says, "Manifestly the garden and the fountain are unseen by the audience and lie, supposedly, at the back of the house, hence the window discovered by Clara was in the rear wall of the chamber." (p. 295) Such a statement reveals once again the literal way in which Adams interprets all staging and his lack of familiarity with stage practise.

On page 296 Adams discusses the visibility of the various stages and parts of the stages he has postulated as making up the first Globe and concludes that we could expect to find "typical stage business of study scenes to involve the floor trap and side walls (up to the height of a man's head) and to stress action on or near the floor", while chamber scenes "could be expected to minimize stage business conducted near the floor or in the lower portion of the rear alcove." From this, one must conclude that the theatre imposed restrictions and limitations on Elizabethan playwrights who would have to have kept such factors as "sight lines" drawn from section plans of the theatre uppermost in their minds while writing.

My opinion, based on study of the first Globe plays, is that they wrote plays with as many scenes in as many locations as they wished, which were probably mostly played on the main-stage.

Adams' mathematically devised plan of a theatre in which he can support "stage illusion by scenic realism" does not seem flexible enough.

¹Cowling, G.H., Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Stage
Shakespeare Association 1925-6 London 1927
pp. 181-2

In Chapter IX, "The Tiring-House: Third Level and the Super-structure", Adams presents a conjectural argument for the third level music rooms and huts above it.

Most scholars agree with Lawrence about the third storey of the tiring-house. Adams quotes Lawrence as saying, "The disposition and offices of (this) story of the tiring-house form, I fear, an unsolvable mystery." (p. 298), but Adams solves the mystery to his satisfaction and that of many of his followers, basing the solution on the even more mysterious features of the super-structure. Reynolds has said that Adams' superstructure "demonstrates ingenious and acute imagination",¹ and so it does.

Of the dozens of plays Adams cites in this chapter, two only are from the first Globe repertory:

I Henry IV is cited as proof that music was used during a play.

Every Man In His Humor is cited as proof that drums were sounded in the tiring-house.

Otherwise, the plays date over a wide period and have varying sponsors; private theatre features appear as evidence along with public ones; dramatic references are interpreted literally.

Adams makes much of the staging of The Tempest (pp. 319-22). This was a King's Men's play dated 1611 and the directions in the Folio of 1623 may well be from a Blackfriars production. While it might have been staged in the manner Adams suggests, it might also have been done in a much simpler manner. One could work out an effective staging on De Witt's Swan stage, for example.

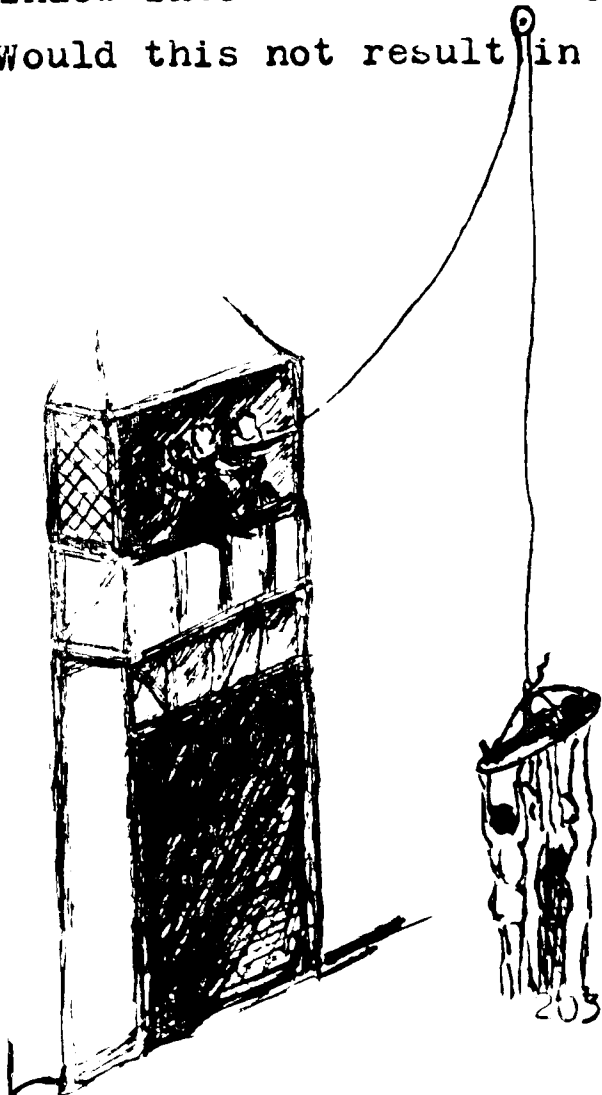
¹Reynolds, G.F., Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Jan. 1943, Vol. XLII, #1, p. 126.

From page 346 to page 349 of Chapter X, "The Superstructure", Adams reconstructs the scene (T 363-4, IV, xv) in Antony and Cleopatra, a first Globe play, in which Antony is "heaved aloft" to Cleopatra in the monument. Adams describes a method he has devised utilizing a machine in the superstructure to lift Antony the 15 feet he thinks it was necessary to lift him from the main stage to the sill of one of the window stages.

Adams thinks that Cleopatra and her women gathered at one of the windows and that Antony was then lifted to the window sill, hauled feet first through the window and suspended with his neck on the sill. During his death scene the audience would have seen only the heads of Antony and Cleopatra sticking out of the window. The women were lost to view, presumably being busy holding up Antony's feet.

I do not understand how Adams thinks the scene was staged, nor how he thinks the machine in the hut was used. He says a rope is "lowered from a windlass"; one end of the rope is made fast by the Guards to Antony's shield, "and the other, the free-end returning from above being passed through the window into the hands of Cleopatra and her maids".

Would this not result in the arrangement illustrated here?



Next, Adams says that the Maids "can simulate heaving on the rope", and since he emphasizes the references in their lines to drawing Antony up, he apparently means that they simulated heaving upwards, but how can they even simulate heaving up with an end of rope that obviously comes down?

Furthermore, can one end of a piece of rope be made fast to a shield in such a way that it is secure and steady enough to lift a man lying on the shield? I think not. An elaborate sling-like arrangement might be prepared in advance, but any such contraption would provide a precarious means of ascent. What such a "harness" would be doing lowered from the "sky" (actually 35 feet from the machine in the Globe's "heaven") at that precise moment or how the ascent could be managed "unobtrusively" as Adams says it was, I fail to see. "Graceful" and "sure", the other adjectives Adams applies to the solution he has devised would hardly fit either, for there is no possible way of fastening one end of a piece of rope at least 35 feet long, to a shield and balancing a man in a horizontal position while raising him, "surely and gracefully". If the guards steady the shield to a height of 7 feet and the maids reach down one foot, Antony will still have 7 feet of the ascent to travel with no hands to steady him. Then, too, the rope will come down from the hut at an angle, since the stage at the point beneath the windows of Adams' model Globe is 30 feet wide and the trap in the hut (as we learn later) is only 20 feet long. Antony, when he has reached the point where the guards can no longer steady him will swing out from the facade towards the middle of the stage, or if he is raised straight up under the end of the trap his feet will be 4 or 5 feet away from Cleopatra's grasp.

The statement, "the guards below raise and steady the burden as long as it is within their reach, but the actor taking the part of Antony has the comfort of knowing that the business actually is in the hands of expert workers in the huts." (p. 349), leaves one wondering if the actor would not also know that he was literally to be left dangling on the end of a piece of rope? Surely an actor would have looked forward to the scene with some misgivings.

No, Adams' solution will not work, yet on this elaborate and implausible staging, he bases his estimation of the length, width, and location of the trap opening in the floor of the hut! "Of the heavens opening at the Globe Playhouse we now know the approximate width (4 feet), length (20 feet), and location (across the floor of the heavens from side to side between the points over the window stages)." (p. 350) (*italics mine*).

This is the only scene in the first Globe plays which Adams cites as requiring his elaborate mechanism, but had there been this mechanism in the "heavens" of the Globe, I do not think it would have been used for this scene. Adams admits that "the Guards below can raise him (Antony) six or seven feet above the street, but the distance to go is 15." (p. 349). In view of the possibility that the upper playing space was only $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 feet above the main stage, it would seem relatively easy to have lifted Antony up with no mechanical aid. This is supposing the scene played on the upper-space (perhaps with the ballustrade removed?). I do think the upper-space would accommodate the characters (Adams estimates that there are 5, p. 264) better than would a window which measures 7 feet wide in his model.

Finally, I must take exception to Adams' statement (p. 350) that his analysis of various involved and highly spectacular scenes utilizing his elaborate system of

windlasses, leads to a modern reader's comprehending the scenes, "for the first time" is implied. I protest that it is not "an illustration of the sort of work that lies ahead if the distinctive contribution of the Elizabethan multiple stage to the drama of 1590-1642 is to be comprehended by modern readers."

CONCLUSION TO SECTION ON ADAMS' GLOBE PLAYHOUSE

"Strive as we may, there are mysteries concerning the physical disposition and the customs of the old platform stage which obstinately refuse to yield their secrets.",¹ wrote Lawrence in 1927, and the statement is as true today as it was then. One of the principal defects of Adams' book is the air of dogmatism and finality which pervades it. It is his view that no mysteries about the Globe remain, and that the platform stage has yielded all its secrets.

His reiteration of the phrase, "Now we know what the Globe was really like" has gathered several adherents to his way of thinking.

One of the most vociferous of these is Watkins, whose latest plea for the rebuilding of the Globe according to Adams' plan describes Adams' book as ". . . a clear-cut factual account both practically and aesthetically satisfying. . . ." ² and, ". . . its completeness, the practical good sense of its reasoning, and the artistic 'rightness' of the resultant plans, make it the most satisfactory blueprint available for the rebuilding of the Globe, whether in fact or in imagination, and thereby create the opportunity to recapture the atmosphere of the Elizabethan playhouse and the essential conditions of performance" ³

Adams, by choosing evidence from plays which he says (p. 229) range in date from 1560 to 1660, but which actually extend from 1537 (Thersites, p. 169) to 1673 (date when Davenant's plays were

¹ Lawrence, W.J., The Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Public Playhouses, p. 128

² Watkins, R., On Producing Shakespeare, p. 14

³ *ibid.*, p. 17

first published, e.g.: Distresses, p. 112 n., 189n., 206 n., and Fair Favourite, 108 n., 152 n., 219 n.) has dealt ¹mainly with generalities in staging methods.

Before one could draw a blue-print of the Globe, I am convinced that one would need to stage all 43 of the extant plays in a theatre flexible enough to allow for change as the need for change became obvious and definite. To re-build the Globe according to any existing plan would be a waste of time and money, yet Watkins ¹pleads for the building of two such theatres on Adams' plan.

Adams has not proved that any theatre possessed all the features he maintains the first Globe had. To build a theatre according to his plan would, therefore, do positive harm to the advancement of the study of Elizabethan drama. A theatre built in the nature of a laboratory, with features flexible enough for experimentation, with a permanent company of players striving to contribute to our meagre knowledge of Elizabethan acting style; and with an audience, if not trained, at least very understanding, might contribute something, but to build Adams' pastiche of playhouse features and call the resultant theatre "The Globe" would be to retard the steady progress made. The audiences would leave the theatre thinking with Moore, "Thanks to him (Adams) we now know what the Globe theatre was really ²like", when, in fact, that is not the case.

In arguing for an inner-stage with a curtained opening 23 feet by 12 feet, Adams is arguing for a proscenium arch. When he maintains that after 1599 the proportion of inner to outer stage scenes rose, he is not accurate; Cowling is near the truth in stating that Cymbeline II, ii, was the first real inner-stage scene in

¹Watkins, R., op. cit. p. 16

²Moore, R. W., op. cit. p. 7

Shakespeare, and since this play was written probably after the King's Men had acquired the second Blackfriars, it are play features which that theatre had but which the first Globe had not.

By maintaining further that the first Globe's inner-stage utilized "flats", real castle-gates, trees, a real window and door, and painted hangings which were changed from scene to scene, Adams seems to be arguing that the Elizabethans were just as realistic in their staging as we are in the contemporary theatre, as if the realistic inner-stage he postulates were an asset and the lack of it something for which he thinks an apology necessary.

Adams' disciple, Watkins, does not follow this argument when he says that "...poets of today might not be the last to welcome a new Globe (Adams' style) in which to set free the wings of their inspiration now cramped behind the cage-door of the proscenium arch." The conflict here is obvious—we must either have an inner-stage with a proscenium arch to cramp the wings of the poet's inspiration, or have no inner-stage and so leave the poet's inspiration free to soar on the open outer stage—it cannot be both ways.²

No, Adams' inner-stage would not set anything free. That has cramped the wings of the poets' inspiration is not the proscenium arch so much as the change in dramatic conventions and style. Plays could

¹Watkins, "... op. cit. p. 16

²Does Watkins realize that of the 62 theatres in London, 19 have proscenium openings only 26 feet wide or less? (One is 13 feet, one 20, one 20 feet 10 inches, three are 21 feet, two are 24 feet 6 inches, four are 25 feet, two 25 feet 6 inches, and one 26 feet wide.) Or that eight have proscenium openings similar in width and height (23 by 12 feet) to Adams' Globe? (Gate, 21 by 14; Little, 26 by 14; Lyric Hammersmith, 23 by 16; Mercury, 18 by 9; New Lindsey, 20 by 12; "Q", 22 by 14; Vaudeville, 21½ by 16½; and Westminster, 27½ by 16 feet.) The modern poets would seem to have an advantage in that their interior scenes are not separated from the audience by a fore-stage 29 feet deep. (Dimensions from, Who's Who In The Theatre, J. Parker (editor), "Working Dimensions of London Theatre Stage at a Glance", between pp. 1798-1799.)

be staged on a modern stage with the same simplicity as that of the first Globe, but along with the change in the theatre have changed the actors, the audience and the style.

In rebuilding Adams' Globe what should we gain but an outer stage 29 feet deep by 41 feet wide tapering to 24 feet? And what should we lose? A roof over the best space in the theatre and controlled light. Surely Shakespeare would have delighted in electric lighting and a modern switchboard. And what about the actors—could modern actors recapture the Elizabethan style? Are there boys who would act the roles of Lady Macbeth, Cressida, Isabella, Cleopatra, Volumnia, and Imogen (to mention only a few) in Elizabethan style?

If Watkins were to compromise on these points, a roof, seats in the "pit", controlled light and mature female actresses for the women's roles, then why not use a modern stage in a modern theatre?

While Watkins is so emphatic in his statements that we have yet to see the Globe playhouse in our lifetime, is he aware of the reconstruction built under the direction of Thomas Wood Stevens at the "Century of Progress" exhibition in Chicago in 1932 and later moved to San Diego, California, and Dallas, Texas? This theatre was built on a plan very similar to Adams' and played Shakespeare to thousands of spectators. The main compromise was in the use of women for the feminine roles, but this seems to be a compromise Watkins is willing to make, too. What was the general effect of this "Globe" on modern audiences? They found it quaint and "interesting" and of historical value; but from the standpoint of "good theatre", some of them, at least, found it disappointing. Perhaps in the intellectual climate of England such an enterprise might thrive better, even two such theatres as Watkins dreams about, but the modern poets might find

their wings a bit dampened in an English winter, or even an occasional summer.

Since Adams states that the growth of the size of the inner stage and its more frequent use after 1599 accelerated the move of the Elizabethan theatre from the outdoor public types to the indoor private ones (p. 168) why should we be asked to go back to what seems to be considered a make-shift "bridge" during the compromise period?

As has been repeatedly pointed out on earlier pages, Adams' elaborate playhouse incorporates elements from private theatres of too wide a period to be authentic for the Globe. According to Bentley, 141 plays from the repertoires of the first and second Globe still exist. If Adams had concentrated his attention on these he might have come nearer to giving a true picture of the Globe than he has. By citing references from about 455 plays he weakens his arguments rather than strengthening them. It is true that more than the 43 plays I have studied were staged in the first Globe before the King's Men started using the second Blackfriars, and that some of the lost plays may have required features which the existing ones do not. It is my hope to complete my study of the first Globe by adding evidence to be found in the King's Men's plays between 1603-9 and 1613 and to make a similar study of the second Globe plays. Perhaps the forthcoming volumes of Bentley's Jacobean and Caroline Stage will have detailed accounts of the second Globe and of Blackfriars, but until a separate study has been made of each theatre, public and private, we cannot speculate on what an Elizabethan public theatre was like. Once such studies of individual playhouses have been made we may find that we can reconstruct a typical Elizabethan public theatre, or a Jacobean private theatre, but let's have no more composites of Elizabethan theatres.

The Lord Chamberlain's and King's Men's company first appeared in 1564 under the sponsorship of Lord Hunsdon who became the Lord Chamberlain in 1585, but they did not play in a permanent theatre until almost thirty years later when it is thought they occupied the theatre at Newington Butts, 1592-1594. They were playing in the Theatre in 1594 and stayed until 1596 when they moved either to the Curtain or the Swan. In 1599 they built their own theatre. Thirty five years, from 1564 until 1599, the company undoubtedly played in varying conditions: in inn-yards in the provinces, town halls, manor houses, castles, and at Court; they acted in the first permanent theatre and probably in the theatre at Newington Butts, at the Curtain and the Swan. They had a repertory of plays which had to be adaptable to any contemporary stage conditions from a market square to a stage in the palace. When the first Globe was built it was built hurriedly, and from used materials. It is true that it was built by experienced theatre men as a theatre, but there is no evidence in the plays themselves that it contained anything but the simplest and most basic stage. A play written to be produced at the first Globe could have been produced almost as effectively in the acting areas found in the provinces, in halls, on outdoor stages, in manor houses, barns and inn-yards. It was important to the company that this should be so.

"The way that the scenes of Shakespeare's plays flit from a street before a house to the interior of a house, or to an open park or forest, seems to indicate that the stage was never visualized as the scenic background of the play. It remained the stage."¹

"Exact location did not matter, and setting was inessential."²

¹Cowling, G. H., op. cit., p. 164
²ibid., p. 165

"There can have been no scenic illusion, no identification of the stage with the setting, or such rapid and complete transition would have been impossible. The stage always remained the stage; but the childlike and illusive imagination of the audience allowed it to become any place, anywhere."¹

"There were frequent changes of scene in Elizabethan plays because there was no scenery to change."²

With these statements of Cowling I agree. Now opposite is Adams':

"Now the Elizabethan drama from beginning to end tended to support stage illusion by scenic realism",

and

"As a rule, however, Elizabethan dramatists appear to have thought in terms of action and stage settings." (p. 169, italics mine)

It is this attitude on Adams' part which accounts in no small measure for his conclusions. He found what he was looking for instead of what there was to be found.

In writing of Adams' book Nicoll says:

"Less cautious than Reynolds, more inclined to leap to conclusions perhaps not wholly warranted by the documentary material available and less rigorous in his selective process, Adams advances several views likely to be rejected by further scrutiny of the subject, but one main hypothesis certainly seems justified by the references he employs—that a very considerable alteration was made in the form of the stage, and especially in that of the upper stage, when the Globe succeeded the Theatre. If this be accepted, then once more a number of previously accepted conclusions will have to be laid aside. Taking Adams' study along with Reynolds' we shall probably be right if we accept the conclusions that further advance in our knowledge is likely to come only from a series of selective studies and that, even within the realm of the public playhouse, variety of shape and perhaps variety in staging methods prevailed. To seek for consistency here is, as Reynolds suggests, to risk taking ourselves off the track."³

and

"It has frequently been assumed that the 'De Witt' drawing is defective. There must have been an inner-stage, it is argued; therefore the absence of a central opening in the rear wall of the drawing must be due to the fact that the artist omitted to

¹ Cowling, G. H., op. cit., p. 169.

² *ibid.*, p. 182.

³ Nicoll, A., Shakespeare Survey I, p. 6.

indicate it. Now Reynolds comes forward with the tentatively and cautiously expressed suggestion that the inner-stage of the Red Bull was possibly nothing more than a curtained framework which could, when need arose, be set up towards the back of the outer-stage. Being a careful scholar (and in this tricky realm of research it is only through the exercise of the very greatest care that any valid results can be reached) Reynolds does not present this as an ascertained fact: yet his evidence is strong and if it comes to be supported by other evidence similarly obtained, not only shall we have to look once more at the 'De Witt' drawing in a new light, but also we shall be compelled to revise some of our fondest theories regarding Elizabethan staging."¹

I have placed these quotations in reverse order from that in which they appeared for I want to close by stating that as a result of my study of the first Globe plays and of Adams' book, I have rejected many of Adams' conclusions and hope that I have strengthened the case of the validity of De Witt's drawing.

¹ Nicoll, A., Shakespeare Survey I, p. 5.

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